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CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Statement on Enforcing Customs Regulations *[BTA]* 1
Schools Close As Result of Emigration *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 9 Aug]* 1
Tobacco Harvest Problems in Kurdzhali Discussed *[Stoyanov in OTECHESTVEN FRONT 8 Aug]* 3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Human Rights Groups To Hold 'Silent Protests' *[Hamburg DPA]* 4
Solidarity Going Against Roundtable Conclusions *[Prague Radio]* 4
Deputy Deputy Prosecutor on Political Crimes *[Prague International]* 4
Shortage of Grain Storage Space Reported *[RUDE PRAVO 10 Aug]* 5
Contemplating Western Machinery Import *[RUDE PRAVO 9 Aug]* 5

HUNGARY

Further Reportage on Problems With GDR Refugees 6
Official Interviewed *[Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 4 Aug]* 6
Interior Ministry on Issue *[Budapest Radio]* 7
Foreign Ministry Spokesman Cited *[Hamburg DPA]* 8
Returnees Able to Emigrate *[MTI]* 8
Illegal Border Crossing To Be Prevented *[East Berlin Radio]* 8
Pozsgay Chairs Party History Committee Meeting *[MTI]* 9
Dubcek Adviser Views Changes in Europe *[Budapest Radio]* 9
Deputy Discusses Democratic Forum's Policy *[Vienna Radio]* 9
Meat Industry Officials on Panic Buying *[Budapest Radio]* 10

POLAND

Kiszczak Receives Peasant Party Official *[PAP]* 11
Bentkowski on Talks With Kiszczak *[Warsaw Radio]* 11
Bentkowski Addresses UPP Caucus *[PAP]* 11
ZSL, Citizens' Group Meet 10 Aug *[Warsaw Radio]* 12
Bentkowski on ZSL Meeting *[Warsaw Radio]* 12
DP's Rymszewicz, Solidarity's Kaczynski Meet *[PAP]* 12
Rakowski Addresses PZPR Political Movement *[PAP]* 12
Government Assessment Body Officials Chosen *[PAP]* 13
Pope Receives Geremek, Michnik *[PAP]* 13
FRG Catholics issue Statement on Relations *[Frankfurt FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU 9 Aug]* 13
WPZZ Supports Solidarity Warning Strike Call *[PAP]* 13
Walesa's No-PZPR Government Stance Scored *[TRYBUNA LUDU 9 Aug]* 14
PAP Rounds Up Strike Situation 14
CP Sejm Group on Economy, CSSR Invasion *[PAP]* 15
Solidarity Official on 1968 CSSR Invasion *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 7 Aug]* 15
Ministry Deplores Bulgarian Transit Decision *[PAP]* 16
Labor Minister Interviewed on Benefits *[Warsaw TV]* 17
OPZZ on 'Momentary Easing of Price Madness' *[Warsaw TV]* 17
Agricultural Goods Procurement Prices Raised *[Warsaw TV]* 17
Finance Official: 'Some Chaos' in Prices *[PAP]* 17
Finance Official on Western Aid Prospects *[GAZETA POMORSKA 24 Jul]* 18
Daily on Possible Government Crisis *[TRYBUNA LUDU 7 Aug]* 19
'Heated' Discussion by Stalin Commission *[PAP]* 21

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Interview to Turkish Daily *[AGERPRES]* 22
Turkish Ships Visit Constanta Port *[AGERPRES]* 25

YUGOSLAVIA

Further on U.S. Senate Resolution, Paraga Issue 26
Foreign Spokesman Comments *[Belgrade Radio]* 26
Radio Presents Paraga History *[Belgrade Radio]* 26
Senate Backing Terrorists *[TANJUG]* 26
Further on Greek Stand on Macedonian Issue *[TANJUG]* 27
'Appalled' by Sartzetakis Statement *[TANJUG]* 27
Drnovsek Meets With Cuban Foreign Minister *[TANJUG]* 28
LCY's Pancevski Receives Portugal's Cunhal *[TANJUG]* 28
Daily Views Commentaries on Last Plenum *[BORBA 3 Aug]* 28

Statement on Enforcing Customs Regulations

AU1108112689 Sofia BTA in English
2031 GMT 10 Aug 89

["On the Enforcement of Customs Regulations in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 10 (BTA)—In connection with the enforcement of customs regulations on the Bulgaro-Turkish border, a representative of the Customs Administration at the Ministry of Planning and Economy made the following statement for the BTA:

"Under the Foreign Currency Assets Transactions and Foreign Currency Controls Act and under the Ordinance on Border Controls of Foreign Currency Assets, every Bulgarian citizen leaving the country temporarily has the right to carry 500 leva which he or she is obliged to declare. Foreign currency to any value on bank accounts can be exported on presentation of the appropriate foreign exchange note.

"The foreign currency assets and Bulgarian leva involved in a smuggling attempt are seized and the offenders are fined. More than 440,000 leva have been confiscated so far in over 200 such cases, and the fines imposed total 172,000 leva.

"Used personal effects can be exported duty-free. As a deterrent, exporters of newly purchased consumer durables are required to pay a deposit of 300 per cent of the item's retail price in Bulgaria. A total of over 49 million leva has been collected in deposits so far.

"The export of new unused items is limited to one piece. The pieces in excess are immediately made available by the customs authorities to the retail network. The travellers are issued a receipt on the presentation of which they can claim the value of the item, provided they return to the country within three months. After the expiration of this term, the proceeds go to the state.

"Exporters of motor vehicles are required to pay a 20 per cent deposit.

"Those leaving have the right to export food in quantities that will last them to their destination. The food in excess of these quantities is barred from export and through appropriate channels is delivered to agriculture and to processing enterprises.

"The rights and duties listed above arise from the statutory customs regulations and standards which have not been amended over the last few years and which apply to all Bulgarian citizens."

Schools Close As Result of Emigration

AU1108211489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Aug 89 pp 1, 3

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO "investigation" edited by Slavka Antonova: "Time of Action After Summer Disruptions"]

[Text] With the approach of the first school day in previous years everyone expected that the greatest difficulties would be those related to problems involving construction and printing workers. In four of our country's nine oblasts, however, "the summer disruptions" which the majority of the population suffered this year, shifted the weight of problems to those people without whom school books would remain untouched and the school buildings would be closed.

This applies to the teachers and their pupils—the children and students of municipalities in Razgrad, Varna, Burgas, and Khaskovo Oblasts—because for many of them this summer brought a total change in their lives. It is still too early to sum up the available data, but truly alarming figures were announced during a conference held at the Ministry of National Education a few days ago.

In Razgrad Oblast alone, for example, 43,000 children and students will leave their native locals before the next school year has started. (It is quite terrifying even to imagine this army of little children and adolescents dragged away at their parents' will). This fact is sufficient for 116 educational institutions to close their doors (according to preliminary calculations), for 13 schools to be reorganized into lower grade establishments (elementary, or primary schools), and for 1,327 teachers to be transferred to other jobs.

The school network in the former okrugs has been "woven" over many decades. The necessity of establishing all the existing kindergartens and the opportunity of training specialists with secondary school education in certain professions were defended in heated arguments dealing with the respective national institutions. At the present moment, however, very prompt decisions are expected to made be within the next 2-3 months. Are the councils and commissions on intellectual developments ready to assume responsibility?

Petur Evtimov, our special correspondent in Shumen, spoke to Nikola Nikolov, head of the district school inspectorate, on the subject. From the specific data and impressions he received we can detect the efforts of the local educational authorities to find promising solutions for the problems.

[Evtimov] Can you describe the changes that will occur in the school system? Will it be necessary to close down children's establishments and schools, can the relatively high educational standards of Shumen and of the municipalities in the former Shumen Okrug be preserved?

[Nikolov] It is our intention to preserve all existing educational institutions, wherever this is possible. It is particularly important for this purpose to apply the reduced norms of creating children's groups and classes, which were recently adopted in agreement with the Higher Educational Council and the Ministry of Planning and Economy. As a result of these norms, classes with 10-15, or 25 children may be established, according to circumstances, and children's groups consisting of 8 children can be created.

For the time being, it does not seem necessary to close down children's establishments and schools in Shumen town. However, things are different in Khitrino, Venets, Kaolinovo, Nikola Kozlevo, and Vurbitsa, where the lack of students expected for the new school year is considerable. The existence of the secondary professional-technical schools which were usually attended by students from the settlements of the former Shumen Okrug is also seriously endangered.

We already know for sure that the closing down of some schools in these settlements systems will make it necessary to release 392 teachers which applies to those living in Shumen alone. The "Manpower" offices attached to the municipal people's councils will as soon as possible publish a list of available jobs for retraining the teachers in question.

The further construction of the school system in our area will greatly depend on the restructuring of the local industrial sector.

The conclusion drawn by our colleague at the end of the interview with Nikola Nikolov confirmed the following argument: The complexity, variety, and rapid development of occurrences have with one stroke dispersed the previous tendency of certain local educational leaders to rely on decisions "from the top" under all circumstances. The Ministry of National Education has authorized them to decide upon the fate of each children's establishment, of each school and every teacher who should fail to observe the labor law requirements. At the same time the local educational leaders are responsible for the education of every single child in the depopulated settlements and for the further professional development of all those teachers who have demonstrated their own high qualifications.

It is not difficult to understand that such complicated educational issues (which in many cases are socio-psychological problems, because they involve teachers collectives and their relations with the local population) cannot be resolved in a bureaucratic manner and with a civil servant's mentality. A sincerely compassionate attitude is required in this case, and it is precisely this attitude that inspires the statement made by Sashka Antonova, chairman of the Municipal Council of Intellectual Development in Momchilgrad, Khaskovo Oblast: It is impossible to work without confidence in the people, and now that 223 teachers from our municipality expressed the wish to leave us, I feel betrayed. How can we calmly accept the fact that not even one teacher has remained in a village, such as Raven, where we managed to enroll 98 percent of the children of preschool age in kindergartens? This irresponsible attitude of some teachers is particularly disappointing for me. Here, among us, they were always highly respected, they enjoyed certain rights and privileges. As the start of the school year draws nearer, we are increasingly concerned about the fate of those who remained at their posts. They are often young women who have to face pressure from certain people in their own districts and villages who are waiting for their turn to leave for Turkey. A few days ago a kindergarten teacher complained to me that she has been scolded for hesitating to apply for her departure. She is the only person with a secondary education in the district. How can she resist this permanent harassment?

This question (and so many, other crucial problems) will accompany the young chairman throughout the forthcoming months.

At the aforementioned conference held at the Ministry of National Education, the representatives of the four oblasts in question stated that teachers were among the first people who came to work in the tobacco plantations and other fields, they were among the first to fill the abandoned working places at the conveyor belts and factory machines. Having shortened their traditionally long summer vacations, they underwent a short training period in their new professions, but their labor results are quite respectable, nevertheless.

Mikhail Vasilev, chairman of the Municipal Council for Intellectual Development in Krumovgrad, Khaskovo Oblast announced that 200 teachers in his municipality are currently engaged in materials production. He added that some of them are harvesting 150 kilograms of tobacco per day, which is a true record! All school buildings—nearly 150—have already been repaired by the teachers and parents of our students, he said.

It would be naive and inappropriate for us to close this article on the preparations for the new school year in a totally optimistic tone. It is true that actions have been coordinated (the school system and the teachers collectives having been preserved within the existing possibilities), it is true that a careful approach has been applied to the re-employment of teachers, who have been released, and that efforts and experience are being devoted to ensure the normal functioning of educational work, but along with this, the reality raises a number of questions. It would perhaps become necessary to update the enrollment of students in pedagogic institutes throughout the country and to reflect on the most effective use of the free buildings. (It is no secret, for example, that the living and training conditions of children in special schools for handicapped children and in boarding schools all over the country are far from

ideal). Would this not be the appropriate opportunity to make a real selection among the most conscientious and talented persons within the teachers collectives by re-evaluating their qualifications?

On many of these problems the municipal and oblast educational institutions will have to make their own decisions. As to our involvement, we will continue to report on their local successes in overcoming the current difficulties in the organization of educational work.

Tobacco Harvest Problems in Kurdzhali Discussed

AU1008200989 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 8 Aug 89 p 2

[Stoyko Stoyanov article: "Labor Standards for the Rhodope Gold"]

[Text] The tobacco leaf is the symbol of the eastern Rhodopes. For many years this crop has been a "specialty" of the local population.

Every year the tobacco producers of Kurdzhali municipality alone divide up over 8 million leva among themselves. However, the true value of the Rhodope gold can be seen only when many farmers have already left the fields of the Kurdzhali region. After the tobacco had been planted and plowed, the workers left. According to the first forecasts, barely one-half of the rich harvest was expected to be harvested and utilized. A sure "guarantee" for this was provided by the sluggish reaction of many leaders, the poor labor organization in certain brigades and technological units, and the traditional habit of waiting for instructions "from above." For these reasons, for 40 days the tobacco fields remained untended; over 4,000 decares of crops were abandoned, and the first crop of tobacco was scorched. The most valuable leaves, the "mother leaves," suffered the most.

At first the help offered by the young people in the summer brigades and the labor collectives was not utilized effectively. The helpers of the "Kurdzhali" brigade at the agro-industrial complex lost many working days before a number of technical problems were dealt with. The brigade leadership had failed to provide the necessary needles, twine, and drying premises. People therefore had to look for the necessary materials themselves from neighboring villages, or buy them on the market at higher prices. Similar mix-ups were also found to have occurred in other brigades attached to the agro-industrial complex.

Some leaders continue to believe that brigade labor is almost free, and administrative instructions are all that are needed to make use of it. However, the young brigade members got their own back. People went off to the combined experimental station, where the tobacco workers are paid every day, and a good labor organization has been set up based on economic interest.

This complex situation finally made it necessary for urgent and effective measures to be taken.

"Many of the initial errors have already been corrected," I was told by Iliya Radev, chairman of the Kurdzhali Agro-Industrial Complex. "Now about 85 percent of the cooperative members who have remained are working hard. By a decision of the municipal leadership, the abandoned plots were identified and distributed to employees at industrial enterprises and in education and culture. The young brigade members also joined in harvesting the tobacco. We adopted intermediate pay rates according to the condition of the products delivered: green leaf, strings of dried leaf, and leaf ready for processing [patal]. The introduction of the new pay system is proving to be a great incentive, as the rate is about twice the previous one. We are trying to motivate people by economic incentives. As a result of all this, we have already collected about 800,000 strings of leaf, equivalent to 700 tonnes of tobacco. This gives us reason to believe that the rich harvest will be gathered in."

For the moment, the optimism of the leader of the agro-industrial complex goes no further than his office; in the tobacco fields, the most important question still arouses concern: What is the future of the Rhodope gold? That question brooks no delay, because whether or not there will be any tobacco at all next year depends on finding a precise and timely answer to it. At the moment the specialists hold differing views. It is difficult to make predictions, but one of the viewpoints is that it is necessary to change over to crops that can be cultivated by mechanical means: cereals, animal feed crops, vegetables, and perennial plantations, in place of the tobacco plots. Special attention should also be given to the alternative of stimulating the development and introduction of new highly productive equipment in tobacco growing, which will make up for the shortage of manpower resources. Wider use should also be made of the opportunities that exist even now for mechanizing the processes of plot preparation, planting, and plowing. This will do away with the most labor intensive activities, and the planted and plowed tobacco handed over to the pieceworkers and brigadiers can easily be cultivated and picked. The results already achieved in this respect are encouraging.

The most important question still faces us, namely the correct choice. On this depends the fate of the tobacco crop. The symbol of the Rhodopes must not wither away.

Human Rights Groups To Hold 'Silent Protests'

LD1108090789 Hamburg DPA in German 0814 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—Independent human rights groups today announced that "silent marches" would be staged throughout the CSSR to mark 21 August. At the same time they called on the population to use pedestrian zones only on the 21 August "so as not to disrupt traffic," and not to display any banners or chant slogans. Commemoration of the Warsaw Pact troop invasion, which resulted in the end of the 1968 reform movement, should be marked "only in silent" protest.

There will be a flower-laying ceremony on Sunday, 20 August, to honor those who were shot dead on 21 August 1968 and ensuing days. The country's leadership is determined to prevent any protest, "if necessary along Chinese lines". The CSSR media has been making this clear to the population for weeks.

The archbishop of Prague, Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, wants to avoid any open conflict citizens and rulers. He has offered to mediate between the human rights initiatives and the Prague leadership.

Solidarity Going Against Roundtable Conclusions

LD1008192589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Now we are going to speak about the latest developments of the situation in neighboring Poland. Petr Lukes, our Warsaw correspondent, is here in the studio with me. [passage omitted]

It is not only the fact that Solidarity evidently is changing its tactics, but in my view what is now happening in Poland is going against the national understanding, against conclusions reached at the roundtable talks.

[Lukes] Not so long ago, Solidarity insisted that it was not prepared to assume the government, and especially responsibility. What was said was that the Solidarity would wait for the next elections and next period of office in opposition. Now it has shown its cards; it now wants to achieve the forming of its own government already admittedly with coalition parties, but without the Communists.

However, no government without this force is able to guarantee stability and social peace in Poland. A number of politicians of the coalition parties, as well as the opposition, are aware of this fact. Nevertheless, they appear up to now to be a minority. All the deputies' clubs currently are holding sessions. We will see if the danger of political crisis is successfully averted.

What is clear is that the last steps taken by the Solidarity leadership are miles away from the idea of the national understanding and the binding conclusions approved by both the government and opposition sides at the roundtable.

Deputy Deputy Prosecutor on Political Crimes

LD1008025589 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Human rights and humanitarian issues are discussed at present and questions about human rights in this country often appear in the mail addressed to Radio Prague. One of them is a question from a West German listener who wants to know how many political prisoners there are in Czechoslovakia. We put this question to the first deputy general prosecutor, Dr Jiri Riman who told us:

[Begin Riman recording in Czech with superimposed English translation] I would like to say that the Czechoslovak law does not recognize the term "political prisoner" nor "political misconduct." Nevertheless, the [words indistinct] of the special amendments of the penal law contain 26 enactments which safeguard the republic. If we deduct crimes of illegal immigration, in 1988 60 people were prosecuted for crimes committed under these enactments. Twenty-six of them were sentenced to prison, accounting for 0.06 per cent of all convictions.

So, as you can see, it is a very small percentage, but the nature of these crimes are very serious. They are such crimes as sabotage, terrorism, and spying.

But to the original question, I would like to say that the representation abroad of political prisoners is sometimes somewhat misleading. Let me give you an example. The Czechoslovak media recently told public about the case of Ivan Jirous [member of the former pop group "Plastic People"] who was sentenced to jail. What sort of a man is he? He has already been prosecuted four times, the last time being in 1982 for crimes of hooliganism and the illegal production and possession of narcotics and poisons. This time he was sentenced to prison for circulating literature libelling the state and political authorities of Czechoslovakia. In it, he also names and calls for the release of certain political prisoners.

Alfred Hauptman is one of them; he was convicted of spying.

Peter Hoffman defected from Czechoslovakia and when questioned by the intelligence services of various countries he gave away secrets concerning, among other things, customs regulations and border controls. For this he was financially rewarded.

Another man Jirous demands be released is a citizen of the German Democratic Republic, Michael Kema serving a prison sentence for theft. [end recording]

Josef Roemer, another so-called political prisoner mentioned by Jirous' leaflet is in prison for hijacking the plane and spying; said Jiri Riman, first deputy general prosecutor in Czechoslovakia.

Shortage of Grain Storage Space Reported

AU1108083689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Aug 89 p 2

[Zdenek Hoffmann in the "Answering Reader's Question" column]

[Excerpts] The RUDE PRAVO editorial office has received several letters from our readers in which they draw attention to insufficient grain storage capacities. They point out the danger of great losses of this valuable agricultural raw material, and ask how this problem will be resolved.

This year's estimates and the first results of the harvests of grain, pulses, and rape are promising; a good crop is expected. However, as our readers correctly point out, the problem lies in the shortage of storage capacities. [passage omitted]

The existing capacities are insufficient, despite the fact that, compared with last year, large-capacity silos have now been put into operation now within the framework of the Agricultural Supplies and Procurement state enterprise in the Czech Socialist Republic, for example in Zdislavice and Benesov, and the storage capacities on the whole have increased by about 100,000 tonnes. When drawing up the balance sheet at the outset of the harvesting season, it was ascertained that we are short of storage space for 1.41 million tonnes of grain (in the Czech Socialist Republic for 960,000 tonnes, in the Slovak Socialist Republic for 450,000 tonnes), which is more than 10 percent of the estimated crop. The most critical situation is in the West Slovak, the South Bohemian, and the West Bohemian regions.

It is necessary to point out that grain is temporarily stored in emergency storage capacities and in some cases even in the open, covered by tarpaulins (this, however, applies only to feed grain) in the first months after the harvest. By the end of October, when the food and feed industries have processed part of the grain, the rest is properly stored in silos.

As in preceding years, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food is trying to resolve the situation. The ministry's agencies have succeeded in arranging emergency storage space for 210,000 tonnes of grain this year (in the Czech Socialist Republic 150,000 tonnes; in the Slovak Socialist Republic 60,000 tonnes). [passage omitted]

Contemplating Western Machinery Import

AU1108074889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Aug 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Feedback"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Right now, our farmers are harvesting a very good crop, in places up to 8 tonnes per hectare. For such yields the imported harvesting combines (we have not been manufacturing them for years now) are not adjusted. The most modern ones can cope with about 6 tonnes per a hectare. Thus, in order to harvest such an unexpectedly excellent crop from the fields, one has to work slowly and cautiously; the harvesting combines are moving at snail's pace.

It is understandable that farmers are drawing a simple conclusion from this: Get hold of foreign exchange and—instead of buying the machines that we have been importing to date—purchase different makes of harvesting combines, which will cope with such great, or even greater, yields without problems. There is no doubt that they will try and do all they can to earn the necessary sum in freely convertible currencies. [passage omitted]

The way things look, the agricultural machinery, which will be imported in the years to come, will have a different origin than has been the case until now. And the one which we ourselves are manufacturing will have to improve the technical-economic parameters, that is, will have to be lighter, have higher performance levels, stay in service longer, and will have to have better support services (repairs, spare parts, and so forth). And, also, quality must be in harmony with the price which, so far, has frequently been too high.

Should machinery not be suitable, we will not buy it. If the existing manufacturer cannot guarantee its performance against the competition, then we will buy from the competition. This is the way we could express the feedback which is beginning to emerge. However, they also can elicit different feedback, for example, from foreign suppliers: Since you are no longer buying so much from us, we will not be importing so much from you. Would this be probable? Of course it would—and how.

Until now the majority of import and export contracts stemmed from the preceding intergovernmental agreements on the exchange of goods. But the new economic mechanisms, which are beginning to differ considerably and, especially, the independence and the powers of enterprises granted to them by laws, will obviously make the conclusion of contracts more difficult. First of all, every customer (enterprise, cooperative) will want to freely decide what to buy and, in particular, the technical and quality standards. It is necessary to recall that intergovernmental agreements are skeleton agreements which determine the mutual turnover in the exchange of goods, but their specifications occur only in contracts.

Thus, intergovernmental agreements can be negotiated also in the future, but their their realization will be carried out under conditions different from those to date. What does it mean in practical terms? Whoever will offer better products, will have the upper hand. And will that be always us? For example, in recent years our biggest customer—the Soviet Union—has been frequently drawing attention to the fact that some of our deliveries are not of the necessary standard. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Problems With GDR Refugees

Official Interviewed

AU0808113589 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 4 Aug 89 p 6

["Excerpts" from an interview granted to Deutschlandfunk by Colonel Karoly Nagy, director of the Department for Control of Foreigners within the Hungarian Interior Ministry, on the problem of the GDR citizens in the Bonn Embassy in Budapest who want to emigrate: "We Cannot Solve This Problem"]

[Text] Nagy: ...Of course, we stick to the spirit of the Geneva Convention, also prior to the official announcement of the rules concerning the implementation of the right of asylum. This means that so far we have not rejected anybody who applied for asylum or who inquired about formalities on how to obtain asylum. Thus, if somebody, not only GDR citizens, applies for asylum in our country because he was persecuted in his home country because of his political conviction or because he belongs to an ethnic minority, or because of other reasons contained in the Geneva Convention, or if he has to fear prosecution or similar actions because of specific activities, we will submit such an application to an extraordinary thorough examination and make a decision in the spirit of the Geneva Convention. If a person cannot cite such reasons, well, then we are sorry, because then we are not in a position to grant asylum to him. In to our experiences, most of them inquire how we can help them to travel on to the FRG.

Question: How can you help them?

Nagy: Those who have the corresponding travel document can travel on without any problems. However, there is a snag in this. Those who do not need a visa to enter our country must leave our country with the same travel document. For this reason, we do not consider it expedient for these persons to change their citizenship while on the territory of a third country and to leave the country with the new passport without a visa. We cannot solve this problem. We consider this matter as a journey or as an emigration issue for which the GDR is primarily responsible. We believe that it is also possible for the FRG to act in this matter, that it has the right to act and that it is has a certain responsibility. The Hungarian People's Republic does not consider itself responsible for this issue and does not wish to—how shall I put it—participate.

According to your Foreign Ministry, 80,000 to 100,000 resettlers are expected in the FRG this year, and millions of GDR citizens visit the FRG every year. Thus, we do not really see any restrictions that would oblige us to apply the Geneva Convention.

Question: What about the GDR citizens who are at the FRG Embassy in Budapest? Will they have to go back?

Nagy: This is a very difficult question. A Hungarian television reporter asked a member of the FRG Embassy in Budapest the same question, and he literally said that he is not in a position to answer this question. If he is not in a position to answer this question, how can you expect me to be able to comment on this issue?

Question: Is there a solution to the problems of these people?

Nagy: In my view, a settlement can only be achieved if the GDR and the FRG assume their responsibility. If FRG officials are not ready to comment on this issue, I consider it advisable for the Hungarian authorities to refrain from any statement.

Question: What happens to GDR citizens who want to cross the border to Austria illegally?

Nagy: I have pointed out on several occasions that as long as this is considered a criminal offense in Hungarian law, the Hungarian executive organs will treat these GDR citizens as criminal offenders. Since crossing the border illegally is a criminal offense, the organs of the aliens registration office will intervene because—like other countries as well—we want our visitors to observe the laws of the Hungarian People's Republic. This means that criminal offenders must accept the fact that their residence permit will be withdrawn and that they will be asked to leave the country.

Question: Does the stamping of their identity documents not mean that they are extradited?

Nagy: Before answering your question, I would like to mention that about 1 and ½ million citizens from the GDR visit Hungary every year and that the overwhelming majority do not object to the fact that they cannot travel anywhere else from here. They visit our country to relax and to have fun, and they are completely satisfied with the bilateral agreement on travel without a visa. Some of them, those who are impatient or who have other reasons, are trying to cross the border illegally. Those whose residence permit has been withdrawn receive an entry in their passports asking them to leave Hungary and not to return for 1 year. The entry does not contain any information concerning the reason for the entry.

Question: Is this not in contradiction with the Geneva Convention?

Nagy: I would like to repeat the following: If these people want to apply for asylum in our country in the spirit of the Geneva Convention, they should not try, in the spirit of the Geneva Convention, to cross the border illegally. They should immediately apply for asylum with the Hungarian authorities. This is the correct procedure according to the Geneva Convention. However, their behavior does not suggest that they want to apply for

asylum in the Hungarian People's Republic. What they do is committing a criminal offense. I do not think that this is compatible with the Geneva Convention.

Question: Can you make any specific statement on what will happen with GDR citizens who apply for asylum? How long does it take to arrive at a decision on whether they will be accepted or not? If yes, what happens with such people?

Nagy: It does not take long in the case of those who are not in a position to produce corresponding evidence. On the basis of the proven practices in the application of the Geneva Convention, those whose applications are apparently unjustified can be rejected quickly. The applications that are justified are carefully examined, taking into consideration the fact that we cannot extend the legal stay of GDR citizens in Hungary beyond 60 days without approval by the GDR authorities. On the basis of the bilateral agreement on the abolition of compulsory visas, we can extend the 30 days by another 30 days. A further extension is not possible without approval by the GDR authorities. Thus, it is clear that we must make a decision on these applications within this period because, in case the applications are rejected, no disadvantage must result for GDR citizens in the GDR because of an illegal stay abroad.

Question: Are you sure you cannot say anything specific about the GDR citizens who are currently at the FRG Embassy in Budapest?

Nagy: I am very sorry that I have to repeat that, in view of the fact that a member of the staff of your embassy did not want to comment on this issue on Hungarian television, I cannot say anything. I do not consider myself authorized to comment on these events. I would like to stress explicitly that the Hungarian People's Republic does not want to do anything that would prevent a possible solution to this problem. I would like to repeat that in our view the GDR and FRG authorities are responsible for this matter.

Interior Ministry on Issue

LD1008185189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The GDR authorites will not punish those citizens who are in the FRG Embassy in Budapest or are living here in Hungary without a permit to stay in the hope of being able to leave for the West. This was said at the news conference given at the Interior Ministry. Zsolt Bocskai reports.

[Bocskai] [passage omitted] Following an outline of their stand, the ministry answered questions from foreign and domestic journalists. Will those East Germans caught in the act of illegally crossing the border still be given the stamp [in their passport]?, asked a colleague. This question was asked twice more. According to some people, this was due to imprecise interpreting; according to others, Police Colonel Dr Karoly Nagy was speaking ambiguously. Now, listen to the third reply, which can be taken as definitive.

[Begin Nagy recording] Only after the penal procedure has been carried out is such a measure used. The penal procedure has recently been modified and, according to our information, will become more refined. Adjusting to this, the authorities dealing with foreign matters will first give a warning. With repeated offenders, they will continue to use this kind of measure. In general, we will continue to stamp this measure [as heard] in the travel document. [end recording]

[Bocskai] There was also mention of them only stamping a page which can easily be removed. However, who would be given this favorable treatment and when was not made clear.

Dr Nagy, in accordance with a request from the GDR, then advised those East German tourists staying in our country illegally to return home. If they do this soon, they will not be punished at home. They should then hand in an application to imigrate in Berlin.

The report from MAGYAR HIRLAP reminded the officials from the Interior Ministry that GDR citizens are still oppressed if they hand in such an application in their homeland. Those preparing to imigrate are dismissed from their jobs and sometimes they even have to move into a different apartment.

We are quite clear about this, replied Dr Nagy, and continued:

[Begin Nagy recording] From the time the Geneva Convention goes into effect, Hungarian authorities are bound by its regulations: They cannot return somebody to a country where their life, safety, or personal freedom is endangered. At present there is a transitory state, and thus let me refer to the promise made by the competent GDR authorities in this question, that they will not impose any kind of sanction against those returning. In our opinion, the matter of emigration is the internal affair of the GDR. [end recording]

[Bocskai] In reply to further questions, they also said that contrary to rumors, there would not be another barbed wire obstacle in place of the dismantled Iron Curtain. We also found out that to date fewer than 10 people have asked our homeland to recognize them as refugees. There is one Czechoslovak citizen among them, one from Sub-Carpathia; the rest are Africans. The 45 Somalis staying in Bicske, who would like to travel on to a third country, can be counted with them. The possibilities of this are being investiged by the UN High Commission for Refugees.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Cited

LD1008183189 Hamburg DPA in German 1709 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] East Berlin/Budapest (DPA)—The Hungarian authorities are allowing GDR citizens to get away with a caution on their first escape attempt to Austria and stamp an entry in their passports only on their second escape attempt. If GDR citizens are repeatedly caught trying to escape then the relevant GDR authorities are notified, the Hungarian interior ministry stated today at a press briefing. This has occured in 453 cases in the first half of this year. GDR Lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, who is mediating with the Federal Republic on solving the problem of exit visas for 131 GDR citizens in the FRG's permanent mission in East Berlin and a further 158 in the FRG Embassy in Budapest, called for "clear judgement" and "especially a bit of peace" today.

Karoly Nagy, head of the Hungarian office for the supervision of foreigners, estimated the number of cautions, which the GDR was not notified about, at several hundred during the past few months. The GDR leadership has been authorized to notify the Hungarian interior ministry that all GDR citizens who have received a stamp or who are in the FRG Embassy in Budapest will enjoy immunity from prosecution if they return to the GDR soon. According to the ministry, there are at present 100-150 GDR citizens in Hungary whose tourist visas have expired or have been withdrawn. Hungary will not force these people to leave.

GDR lawyer Vogel again called on the people staying at the FRG missions to address their requests for exit visas to the relevant authorities in the GDR. The Federal Government did not comment on the refugee question today. It evidently wants to avoid making any remarks which could worsen the situation.

Returnees Able to Emigrate

LD1008183589 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 10 (MTI)—The authorities of the German Democratic Republic have authorized the Hungarian Ministry of Home Affairs to announce that, if they return to the GDR shortly, no punitive sanctions will be applied against the GDR citizens staying in the Budapest embassy of the FRG or those GDR tourists who are in Hungary without residence permits.

Those returning to the GDR can hand in an emigration request, it was announced at a press conference held in the Ministry of Home Afairs on Thursday for representatives of the Hungarian and international press.

Police Colonel Karoly Nagy, director of the office for alien affairs, said the Hungarian bodies would not be putting obstacles in the way of those wishing to return after this appeal by the GDR. The Hungarian side will not take action even if their necessary travel documents have expired.

Mr Nagy also informed journalists that 453 criminal proceedings had been instigated this year against GDR citizens who attempted illegally to cross the border into Hungary. According to the Hungarian position, the inviolability of the border is an essential element of state sovereignty. All states take steps in accordance with international norms against those wishing illegally to cross the borders of the country. There is a slight change in the Hungarian approach to the problem, though. In view of the travel facilitations and the related amendments to legal measures, illegal crossing of the border, so far treated as a crime, will be termed 'only' an infringement after January 1, 1990 if parliament also approves the related amendment to the penal code.

One problem is that the regulations of the General Covenant on Refugees, which Hungary joined in March, 1989, have to be brought in line with the various bilateral international agreements. Hungary concluded an agreement on visa-free travel with the GDR in 1969, and it accepted the obligation of immediately informing the Budapest representation of the GDR on the data of CDR citizens against whom measures had been taken. Journalists were now informed that the Hungarian authorities have not expelled any GDR citizens from the country, with the exception of those who committed serious public law and order offences. It is mostly due to this practice that, in spite of the warning, 100-150 GDR citizens are at present still in the country.

Illegal Border Crossing To Be Prevented

LD1108041489 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2010 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Today at a press conference in Budapest, Colonel (Ernoe Hegyi) gave a briefing about a communique from the Hungarian Interior Ministry. According to this communique, the border authorities of the Hungarian People's Republic will in future see to it that illegal leaving of the country is prevented. More on this in the following ADN correspondent's report:

At present more than 10 million foreigners visit Hungary per year. Some of them come into conflict with the Hungarian legal norms while they are there, including GDR citizens who enter the country as tourists and try to cross illegally over the border to Austria, Colonel (Ernoe Hegyi) stated. [passage omitted]

ADN correspondent Bernd Unger conducted the following interview today with Colonel Karoly Nagy:

[Begin recording] [Unger] Comrade Nagy, at present there is a campaign in the Western media and much speculation about the joint Hungarian-Austrian border. What can you say about the concrete situation there?

[Nagy in Hungarian with superimposed German translation] It is well known that the Hungarian People's Republic has announced that it is removing the technical barriers on its western border. It is also known that on 8 August the so-called border zone was abolished. These announcements have led to fragments of information from certain quarters of the mass media implying that the interests of the Hungarian People's Republic in protecting its borders had changed. There can be no question of this. The Hungarian People's Republic will also continue to safeguard the integrity of its frontiers and will take action against those people who try to cross there borders in a forbidden manner.

[Unger] Unfortunately there are continual rumors from the Western media that there are now plans being made to introduce travel restrictions. What is the present state of affairs and how do you assess the present vacationers and travel exchanges between Hungary and the GDR?

[Nagy] It is known that a high level of tourism has developed for some time between the German Democratic Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. This is in accordance with the agreement signed by the two countries, which has served to help the two countries to get to know each other better and to form friendly contacts. This has developed well recently. I believe that both countries are interested in the further development of tourism—in both countries—and I believe that the more people who come to this country, the better and more sophisticated care will be taken and the development of even more friendly contacts will serve the interests of both peoples. I think for this reason, the relevant authorities of the GDR as well as of Hungary will also take the necessary steps in the future. [end recording]

Pozsgay Chairs Party History Committee Meeting
LD1008203989 Budapest MTI in English 1811 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 10 (MTI)—The working committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP/MSZMP] Central Committee set up in 1988 to analyze the past four decades from both the historical and political aspects, to re-examine the 1975 manifesto, and to prepare a new manifesto, held a session on Thursday under the leadership of Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Presidium.

The committee discussed the draft documents entitled "Our Historical Road and Political Conclusions" and "The HSWP Manifesto." This latter considers the processes launched in Hungary as a change of model, and the renewing party is preparing to accept and further support this. The manifesto should offer encouragement to all those who step on the new road by accepting socialist values and the intention of realizing democratic socialism, and it should also prompt even those party members who do not identify with this political programme to come to a decision.

The working committee is to publish both draft documents in the August 19 issue of the daily "NEPSZABADSAG."

Dubcek Adviser Views Changes in Europe
LD0908224289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] "Changing Europe, European Changes"—that could be the title of the conversation that Szabolcs Udvarhelyi held with Zdenek Mlynar, who was one of the main ideologues of the Prague Spring, Dubcek's adviser, and Central Committee secretary. Now he lives in Austria, as a university lecturer.

[Begin recording] [Udvarhelyi] What, properly speaking, is happening in Central Europe? Is it a renewal of socialism, revolution, or perhaps a fight between reformists and conservatives?

[Mlynar] Now, after 40 years, the central European countries which earlier were entirely under Soviet influence and belonged to the Warsaw Pact have suddenly acquired the opportunity to attempt an independent development. It appears that the Soviet leadership really does not want to forcefully prevent development in these states from taking a different direction than Moscow originally had imagined. At the same time, in my view this possibility has come too late, after the unequivocal and one-sided Soviet hegemony of the past 40 years.

Earlier, in central Europe, efforts pointing to independent development were always suppressed with force; thus, there is very little confidence in these countries that changes are possible at all. And precisely on the basis of the experiences of the past, people, in a figurative sense, would like to get as far away as possible from Moscow. That is, they would disassociate themselves from what, in the past, threatened their independence.

However, a very important factor is that we here in central Europe do indeed depend on whether Gorbachev and his new policy will be successful in the Soviet Union. Of course, Gorbachev's fate also depends on how things develop in Central Europe. [end recording]

Deputy Discusses Democratic Forum's Policy
AU1108075289 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Interview with Gabor Roszik, deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Karl Stipsicz in Vienna on 10 August—recorded]

[Text] [Stipsicz] The Democratic Forum is the best organized oppositional movement in Hungary. What began as an association of patriotic writers almost 2

years ago, will soon constitute itself as a party that has the chance to assume the leading position in Hungary. The election campaigns of its candidates were professionally organized with the help of public relations strategists, psychologists, volunteer handbill distributers, and election rallies—to the great surprise of the Communist Party which relied on the power of the media.

Gabor Roszik, the first deputy in 41 years who was elected in truly free and independent elections, will shortly celebrate his 35th birthday. He is the Lutheran priest of Godollo, a suburb of Budapest with some 30,000 inhabitants. Do you really believe that free elections will be held in the spring 1990, as promised by the governing Communists?

[Roszik] Yes, I think so, because the Communists also want democratization in Hungary.

[Stipsicz] You were elected with a majority of 70 percent. Even for democracies this is an unusual result. Were you surprised by it?

[Roszik] No. The question was whether 50 percent of the electorate would turn out at the elections or not. In case they did, we were convinced that we would win.

[Stipsicz] So far all three elections that have taken place so far were held in small rural cities and not in industrial cities with large factories. Do you think that the Hungarian workers will vote similarly and that the Democratic Forum will win great majorities there as well?

[Roszik] I believe that there is a majority of workers in each of these four cities, and everywhere the workers turned out for the elections. To us this is a model for the next elections.

[Stipsicz] What exactly does the Democratic Forum want? Critics claim that the Democratic Forum does not have a clearly defined program, and that, above all, it lacks the adequate people that could carry out a program for economic recovery.

[Roszik] The Democratic Forum does have an election program—a paper consisting of some 70 to 80 pages—and I think that we also have the necessary economic experts who can solve the problems in a better way.

[Stipsicz] Compared to Western parties, what is the model for the Democratic Forum?

[Roszik] The European Democratic Union. We would like to follow the example of the European Democratic Union. In Austria this applies to the Austrian People's Party, the Christian Democrats. The Democratic Forum wants to be a party of the center, a people's party, which includes Christians.

[Stipsicz] Let us assume the Democratic forum wins the relative majority at the next elections, which is possible. What are the first steps the Democratic Forum would take if it were to come to power?

[Roszik] This is a very difficult question. I do not know what the first things are that the Democratic Forum will do in Parliament.

[Stipsicz] Well, will it proclaim neutrality, will it proclaim capitalism, what are its goals?

[Roszik] One of our goals for the future is to make Hungary neutral. For the time being the economic problem is most urgent problem in Hungary. (Words indistinct) We can introduce freedom in Hungary, we can make Hungary neutral, and so on, but all this means nothing if we do not help the poor.

Meat Industry Officials on Panic Buying

LD1008210589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] At their meeting today, the directors of Hungarian meat industry enterprises rejected the assertion yesterday by SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] that the scramble for state support by the enterprises concerned has caused the development of a meat shortage in Hungary.

The directors of the meat industry enterprises deny the news which has spread about the rise in the price of a carcass and consider the panic buying to be unjustified. At the same time, they acknowledge that there have been temporary difficulties in meat supply in Budapest and in County Somogy. The directors of the meat industry enterprises confirmed that the industry is capable of satisfying domestic demands. They emphasized that in our homeland there cannot be problems in meat supply. Domestic supply must be given priority, but high-level decisions are needed for this. The directors said it is untenable to say that the income generated from raising pigs is low and that the small producers are uncertain because they do not know whether they will receive the tax concession on 500,000 forints return from sales next year too or not. Reliable meat supply in the long term could be endangered by this uncertainty.

The MTI report on the meeting of meat industry directors does not state this, but the radio reporter has found out that at the same time, the meat industry wishes to raise the prices of meat products beginning on 21 August and 4 September. The various dried goods, sliced cold meats, canned meat, and also unfortunately meat on the bone—which is most often purchased by the retired, belong to this category.

The meat industry has already prepared the long price list pertaining to this and the prices office has acknowledged it.

Kiszczak Receives Peasant Party Official

LD1008173389 Warsaw PAP in English
1630 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 10—Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak received today Chairman of the United Peasant Party caucus Aleksander Bentkowski.

Bentkowski on Talks With Kiszczak

LD1008185289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] The United Peasants' Party (ZSL) parliamentary floor group [KP] has held a meeting at which yesterday's discussion, on the problems of appointing a new government by Czeslaw Kiszczak and on Lech Walesa's proposal of a Solidarity-ZSL-Democratic Party [SD] coalition, was continued.

To open the deliberations, KP Chairman Aleksander Bentkowski gave a report on his talks this morning with Czeslaw Kiszczak, during which the candidates for the new cabinet put forward by the ZSL Supreme Committee were among the matters discussed.

Aleksander Bentkowski also informed the prime minister that the ZSL KP would be putting a proposal to the Citizens' Parliamentary Club Presidium that they enter into purely working talks within the context of Lech Walesa's declaration.

Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, speaking during the ZSL KP debate, also referred to that declaration, stating that the most important task today was for the new government to begin to act as soon and as effectively as possible.

Bentkowski Addresses UPP Caucus

LD1008220789 Warsaw PAP in English
2018 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 10—The United Peasant Party (UPP) caucus continued today yesterday's discussion on the formation of a government by Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak and Lech Walesa's proposal on a coalition between Solidarity, the Peasant Party and the Democratic Party.

At the start of the debates chairman of the caucus Aleksander Bentkowski briefed deputies on his talks with Czeslaw Kiszczak this morning. The premier is open to the matters of filling government posts, he said. The UPP CC [Central Committee] proposed a dozen or so persons for the premier to select candidates for his cabinet. The filling of the post of vice premier by Kazimierz Olesiak seems to be sure in principle. The question is if he is to be farming minister for some time as well.

I have gathered from talks with the premier that the candidature of Jozef Koziol for the minister of environmental protection and natural resources does not arouse controversies. The premier also very positively spoke about the candidature of Jozef Lochowski for vice-minister or state secretary at the Industry Ministry, Bentkowski added.

Next deputies asked Bentkowski many questions. They stressed that in Kiszczak's government, that is the government formed by the so-called small coalition, a UPP representative should be first vice-premier and that the UPP should fill five to six ministerial posts, correspondingly to the 28 percent-participation of its deputies in such a coalition.

In reply Bentkowski stated that he had informed the premier about the atmosphere prevailing in the club, about the deputies' disappointment with the prolonged formation of the cabinet. Kiszczak asked whether there was a chance for a change of this atmosphere. Bentkowski answered that everything was possible and much would depend on concrete proposals on the composition of the government, and added that moods may either improve or worsen. He also told Kiszczak that the UPP caucus asked the opposition caucus to start purely working talks on Lech Walesa's statement.

In turn Kiszczak stated that a number of non-party members, influential but not close to Solidarity, gave their access to [as received] the government if concrete proposals were made in this respect.

Surely, confusion caused by Walesa's statement does not make it easier to form the government, stated Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz. However, as for the future, I do not exclude that negotiations on a possible new coalition may take place, which should be reasonably prepared, he remarked.

Deputies agreed that these were extremely delicate and complicated problems which should be discussed openly. The situation might have been different if society had known that Czeslaw Kiszczak had been the third running candidate for the premier and that his two predecessors had refused to undertake this mission.

Also discussed was marketisation of food economy. Generally, the concept was supported. Still, it was pointed out that unsatisfactory and not always adequate information on new solutions caused many a misunderstanding, irritation and emotion.

After the UPP caucus's session representatives of the leaders of the floor groups of the UPP and the opposition met. The meeting was attended by Aleksander Bentkowski, Teresa Liszcz and Wincenty Leszczynskji on the part of the UPP and—on the part of the Citizens' Floor Group—by Andrzej Wielowieyski, Jacek Kuron, Artur Balazs and representative of Lech Walesa, Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

ZSL, Citizens' Group Meet 10 Aug

LD1008191189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Following a meeting of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Parliamentary Floor Group [KP] there was a meeting of representatives of the leadership of the ZSL KP and the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP]. Taking part in the meeting were: for the ZSL, Aleksander Bentkowski, Teresa Liszcz, and Wincenty Leszczynski; and for the OKP, Andrzej Wielowieyski, Jacek Kuron, Artur Balazs, and Lech Walesa's representative, Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

Bentkowski on ZSL Meeting

LD1008203189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Excerpt] The United Peasant Party [ZSL] Parliamentary Floor Group today continued discussions, begun yesterday, about the new government and Lech Walesa's proposal on this issue. Chairman of the group, Aleksander Bentkowski, is interviewed by Marek Kassa.

[Begin recording] [Kassa] Mr Chairman, I'd like to find out if today's meeting of the group introduced anything new in relation to yesterday's declaration?

[Bentkowski] No, it hasn't introduced anything new.

[Kassa] Immediately after the group's meeting had ended, there was a meeting of a select group representatives of the ZSL group and the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP]. Could you say what the meeting was about?

[Bentkowski] Well, there was one topic, namely the possibility of the creation of a new coalition and the preconditions for participation in it by the ZSL. This was the first issue. We decided that it was vital for the presidiums to meet; however, the OKP is not meeting until Wednesday, and practically speaking, it is only on Wednesday that more binding decisions will be made.

[Kassa] I know you have also had talks with the new premier, Czeslaw Kiszczak. What were they about and what course did they take?

[Bentkowski] The coalition exists. I talked to General Kiszczak today on the subject of the creation of a new government. The ZSL [word indistinct] to participate in the creation of that government, because we haven't (?yet) got the guarantee that a new coalition will be created. [passage omitted] [end recording]

DP's Rymszewicz, Solidarity's Kaczynski Meet

LD1008204889 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 10—Tadeusz Rymszewicz, member of the presidium and secretary of the Democratic Party [DP] CC [Central Committee], met at the DP headquarters today with Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, secretary of the Solidarity National Executive Commission, who is a plenipotentiary of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, the DP spokesman has announced.

The talk focused on the details of Lech Walesa's declaration on the formation of a government based on the coalition between Solidarity, Democratic Party and the United Peasants' Party.

The talks will be continued.

Rakowski Addresses PZPR Political Movement

LD1008205389 Warsaw PAP in English 1938 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 10—A meeting of representatives of the PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party/PZPR] political thought movement attended by members of various political thought clubs, debating clubs, scientific centres, intellectuals from numerous party organizations from all over Poland was held here today.

Without the intellectual activity of the left, PUWP Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski told the meeting, today it is impossible for the party to promptly achieve progress in winning social confidence, in seeking ideological and programmatic identity and in increasing efficiency of its work.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski listed the need for consolidation of the socialist left forces, maintaining and strenghtening of the party's unity among the most important tasks for today. The unity, he said referring to the resolution of the 13th PUWP Central Committee Plenum, is possible only in the conditions of advanced inter-party democracy providing for free discussion.

"Today's meeting was attended not only by members of intellectual movements within the party but also by representatives of other movements which broaded the party's social base," secretary of the PUWP Central Committee Commission for Work in Intelligentsia Groups Krzysztof Janik told PAP on the significance of the meeting.

"We assume that such an enlivening will bear new important ideas and conceptions which may become a plane for consolidation of the whole party, its revival, or even for a degree of well-understood intellectual and political radicalization," he said.

"Broadly speaking, the point is in such a transformation of the party and its allied surroundings that all, including non-party members having views different than the PUWP, but generally based on the leftist ideals, may find place for voicing their opinions and reasons within the PUWP," Janik said.

Government Assessment Body Officials Chosen

LD1008173989 Warsaw PAP in English
1615 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 10—The special committee for analysis and assessment of the outgoing government, appointed by the Sejm, held its first meeting here today.

On opening the debates by Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, the committee's members chose deputy Ryszard Bugaj (the citizens' parliamentary floor group OKP) its chairman, and Janusz Trzcinski (PUWP) [Polish United Workers Party], Teresa Liszcz (United Peasant Party) and Bohdan Osinski (Democratic Party) vice-chairmen of the committee.

Participants in the meeting expressed opinion that the task to be fulfilled by the committee requires impartial and honest consideration of all questions pertaining to assessment of the government's work and that it should be accompanied by a sense of particular responsibility, also towards society.

It was settled that proposals for routine, scope and forms of the commission's work are to be worked out by its presidium and presented at the next meeting. It was also decided that in view of considerable interest in the committee's work, it will be carried on at the open door.

Pope Receives Geremek, Michnik

LD1008204989 Warsaw PAP in English
1910 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Rome, Aug. 10—Pope John Paul II met with chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group Bronislaw Geremek and Deputy Adam Michnik at his summer residence Castelgandolfo today.

The meeting was held during a coffee break in the debates of an international seminar on social issues, sponsored by the Vatican, Father Giovanni d'Ercole, deputy spokesman for the Vatican, said. He did not give any details of the talk between the Pope and the Polish opposition politicians apart from saying that it was short.

According to the ANSA agency, chairman of the citizens's parliamentary floor group Bronislaw Geremek stated upon his arrival here that the possibility of setting up a coalition government by "Solidarity" was an open question. Denying that "Solidarity" unequivocally wanted to exclude communists from the government, Geremek stressed that this organisation was ready to take over the responsibility for ruling the Polish state.

Commenting on the recent agreement between Poland and the EC, thanks to which first batches of foodstuffs will come soon to Poland, Geremek preferred—as the ANSA reported—to use a conditional clause, saying: "It would be a beginning, a start for a programme of assistance to the reform movement in Poland."

FRG Catholics Issue Statement on Relations

AU0908143989

[Editorial Report] Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German on 9 August on page 14, under the headline "The Search for Justice, Peace, and Freedom in Europe," carries the 2,500-word text of a statement issued by Polish and FRG Catholics on the occasion of 1 September, the 50th anniversary of the German attack on Poland.

The statement commemorates the victims of German national socialism, which aimed at the "suppression, division, and extermination of the Polish people, at driving many Poles from their homes, and at wiping out Polish history and culture." However, 50 years after the attack, the truth about past events must be discovered and "prejudices and feelings of hostility must be overcome." Poland and the FRG should recall the intellectual and cultural links that "have characterized relations between our two peoples in a unique manner for decades," the statement continues.

Referring to the recent controversy over Poland's western border, the statement points out: "As a result of World War II, there were changes concerning the borders of territories, particularly those of Poland. So far no peace settlement has been achieved for Germany as a whole, but in the Warsaw Treaty the FRG and the People's Republic of Poland stipulated that the existing border forms Poland's western border and stated that they have no claims on each others' territories and that they will not have such claims in the future." The Catholics advocate the "permanent nature of Poland's western border," and want to ensure that "ethnic groups with a different language and a different culture, including the Germans who live in Poland and the Poles who live in Germany, maintain their identity, that the peoples of Europe, including the German people who are particularly affected by the division of Europe, are guaranteed the right to self-determination, that the borders in Europe become increasingly open, and that the political, economic, social, and cultural development in Europe is conducive to this process of opening."

WPZZ Supports Solidarity Warning Strike Call

LD1008205289 Warsaw PAP in English
1940 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug 10—An hour-long general warning strike announced by the provisional regional board of "Solidarity" for August 11 was supported today by the Voivodship Alliance of Trade Unions (WPZZ).

The statement published by WPZZ stated, among other things, that union organizations grouped in WPZZ consider "Solidarity" postulates as right adding to them the need to amend the laws on social and housing funds and to introduce compensations for price growth of industrial goods of common use and of services.

The decision on an active support for the strike action has been left to trade unions organizations in enterprises. At the same time WPZZ appealed to exclude from the protest public services, such as public transportation, shops, electric power industry, health service.

Walesa's No-PZPR Government Stance Scored

AU1108141189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Aug 89 p 1

[Jerzy Bielecki: "Anything, as Long as the Party Stays Out"]

[Text] On Monday, a hidden card was played. Lech Walesa issued another statement, saying that he would strive for a coalition between "Solidarity" and the United Peasant Party and Democratic Party.

That looks like an escalation of demands designed to attack and discredit the party and break up the coalition which is already functioning, albeit with difficulty. It is a contradiction of everything Walesa and his closest colleagues said about a party which brought about the "roundtable."

I fail to understand the chairman's line of thought. Walesa says: "The authorities choice of premier clearly shows that the old monopoly is meant to continue."

It is not the "authorities" that chose the premier, but a Sejm that was elected in accordance with the voting regulations adopted at the "roundtable," a Sejm in which 237 deputies, in other words an absolute majority, voted for the new premier.

To use the language of the "roundtable," this choice was made by the coalition, the same coalition that approved the new voting regulations in the last Sejm and, respecting the February and March accords with the opposition, adopted an evolutionary approach toward full parliamentary democracy.

Perhaps the "roundtable" accords need to be renegotiated, but they can certainly not be violated. At least that is the view of the Polish United Workers Party, whom no one can accuse of betraying the "roundtable" decisions.

Walesa says for the past 45 years, monopoly over power has been held by one single party. That might have been so in the past, but it is not the case today.

For the sake of the national accord that has been achieved with such toil, whose importance is appreciated by the East and by the West, and to which most of Polish society subscribes, let us not confuse the past with the present.

Lech Walesa and Czeslaw Kiszczak are recognized by world public opinion as the constructors of the "roundtable." When the talks encountered difficulties, they invoked the spirit of the preliminary talks held in Magdalenka, and then everything was all right again.

And what is the result of this? A surprising statement by Lech Walesa suggesting a new coalition with United Peasant Party and Democratic Party leadership circles, which was conveyed to the POLISH PRESS AGENCY and printed in yesterday's papers.

It is with regret that I read only one meaning in this statement: Anything, as long as the PZPR stays out.

Perhaps it is worth acquainting oneself with the program, amend it if necessary, and suggest something constructive? Perhaps such a program ought to be controlled in accordance with the guaranteed rights of parliament?

However, it ought to be remembered that "control" does not mean "nullify."

PAP Rounds Up Strike Situation

LD1008220989 Warsaw PAP in English 2110 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 9—Despite disastrous consequences to the market which are caused by a forced outflow of money, the wave of pay demands does not decline and the strikes and work stoppages disorganise economic life adding difficulties to everyday life of the population of many regions of Poland.

As a result of a strike announced today by printers of the photopolygraphic press enterprise in Gdansk, today's issue of popular afternoon daily "WIECZOR WYBRZEZA" did not come out. The strike is a part of the national protest action of printers from enterprises subject to the main board of the "Ksiazka-Prasa-Ruch" publishing concern. The strike action, the basis of which are economic postulates, was taken up as a result of a fiasco in the talks with the representatives of that publishing concern. The strikers demand, among others, a 150 per cent rise of pay rates for production employees as well as leaving 55 per cent of profit to enterprises. The situation in the Gdansk printing house indicates that no newspaper will come out in the tricity of Gdynia-Gdansk- Sopot on Friday, August 11.

Representatives of 15 road districts, now debating in Kalisz, decided to set up a national strike committee for talks with the governmental side on pay rises, increasing of layouts for road and bridge maintenance as well as

calling up of commission for the change of organisational structures of highway engineering at the Ministry of Transport, Shipping and Communications. These changes would aim at liquidation of bureaucratic systems of management and excessive administration.

Talks between the managers of the "Nowotko" steelworks in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski and representatives of trade unions on the realisation of the striking crew's postulates were resumed today.

Thousands of Lodz residents did not receive mail today as a result of a strike at the city's main post office. Also in the Tarnow Voivodship almost 80 post offices started strikes today. The strikers demand a pay rise by 100 thousand zloties, but the managers are able to raise pay by 84 thousand zloties, the fact being rejected by "wild" strike committees. Trade unions do not support the strike.

Employees of the Slupsk communications enterprise, who are on strike since August 9, were joined today by the post office employees.

Today, out of work were also the post offices in Piotrkow Trybunalski. During the day, post office employees of Belchatow, Opoczno and Radomsko joined the strike. Warning strike was staged by telephone operators of the intercity connection in Nowy Sacz, southern Poland.

CP Sejm Group on Economy, CSSR Invasion

LD1008215889 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 10—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] parliamentary floor group continued debates today. Its chairman, Marian Orzechowski briefed the deputies on talks he held yesterday, the first day of the caucus's meeting, with President Wojciech Jaruzelski during which he relayed the opinions of members of the floor group on the socio-political situation of the country.

The chairman of the floor group also spoke about talks he held yesterday, together with Vice Speaker of the Sejm Tadeusz Fiszbach, with Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak during which the prime minister's attention was drawn to the need to present candidatures for the government from among new people. There was also talk about the need to present more than one candidature per post in the new government for opining.

Referring to the upcoming meeting of the Sejm, the floor group discussed the proposed changes in the budgetary law for 1989. It was pointed out that the shaping of wages proposed in the draft does not permit increasing wages of employees of the budgetary sphere. The deputies also had doubts regarding the proposals contained in the draft which boil down to a limitation of the sources of creating budgets of people's councils and regarding plans to increase subsidies for the coal industry. One of the deputies motioned for the setting up of a parliamentary team for analyzing costs in the coal industry.

Other important topics included the strike situation, social moods in various branches and professions, and the stance and policy of various trade unions. Deputy Jozef Oleksy, the minister for cooperation with trade unions spoke about this, while 11 new strike actions took place today. These matters and their causes are extremely complex, the state of embitterment in various neglected branches is tremendous. All in all the results look to be catastrophic, it was said.

Other matters touched upon during the meeting of the floor group included the issue of an assessment of the military intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

Solidarity Official on 1968 CSSR Invasion

AU0908135489 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Aug 89 p 5

[Interview with Andrzej Karcz by Anna Bikont: "Soldiers and Officers: Why Are You Here?"—date and place not given]

[Text] The "Ryszard Siwiec and Jan Palach" Association, which was formed in Krakow in June of this year, has appealed to Czechs and Slovaks for "Christian forgiveness for the shameful participation of Polish soldiers in the invasion of your fatherland in August 1968."

Andrzej Karcz is provisional chairman of the voivodship "Solidarity" union for sports and physical education employees in Krakow and cochairman of the "J. Siwiec and J. Palach" Committee.

[Question] You took part in the intervention in Czechoslovakia as a corporal on active service. What do you remember about it?

[Karcz] The all-night march toward the border, and the ideological training, day in day out for 3 weeks. A group had apparently penetrated the Czechoslovak authorities and wanted to change the system. It was persecuting workers and had opened the Czech border as NATO was in the process of conducting military exercises code-named "Black Lion." We were told about hundreds of petitions from the Czechoslovak population requesting assistance. Patriotic marches were played and over the loudspeakers they would say: "Men, the time has come. You will liberate people for our freedom and yours once again."

[Bikont] Did you believe this?

[Karcz] We were told that the Czechs were waiting for us and that they would welcome us with flowers at the border.

[Bikont] Did they?

[Karcz] We got to the border at Bystrzyca Klodzka at 0500. Then came the first shock. We were met with catcalls and stones, and the customs officials handed out leaflets written in broken Polish that read: "Soldiers, officers, why have you come to Czechoslovakia?" The political officers immediately began to explain to us that they were trouble-makers and that the true Czechs were staying in their homes for fear having stones thrown at them if they went out.

[Bikont] Did you meet any of these true Czechs?

[Karcz] No, the towns and villages in the area were covered in posters and there were slogans on the walls that read: "1938-Germans equals 1968," "Brezhnev Is a Swine, "The Father Is a Liberator and the Son Is an Invader," and "What Would Lenin Have To Say." That last slogan appeared a lot: People did not realize that Lenin would not have said anything at all.

[Bikont] What was your reaction?

[Karcz] I was driving a vehicle at the front of a column and made a sign to show that I was helpless. The people responded by making signs to ask if we were crazy.

[Bikont] Did this undermine your morale?

[Karcz] It was said that there had been a few desertions, and I had heard about sentences of 7-8 years. There were cases of hooliganism on our part. On one occasion soldiers from our division took over a forest-ranger's lodge. They put a bag over the forest-ranger's head and held him there with his arms raised. On another occasion, some men got drunk and shot at several people in a bar. I also know that one soldier got drunk and shot three Czech civilians. He then shot at his colleagues, who tried to seize the weapon. He was sentenced to death, and we sent off a group of soldiers to the execution. There were also acts of revenge on the other side. I know of the brutal murder of one of our soldiers.

[Bikont] These were isolated cases. What was the daily routine like?

[Karcz] For the first 10 days or so we did not get a full night's sleep. We got an hour or two of sleep while wearing all our equipment, and were then given marching orders. We were told that we could not allow ourselves to be tracked down, but it must have been a method used to keep us in a state of mental confusion.

I was in the artillery. So I was in an auxiliary unit rather than a frontline one. Firearms were used by the infantry and the commandos. Our role was like that of the Motorized Reserve of the Citizens' Militia during martial law. We patrolled the streets and so on. We were involved in several clashes. While Soviet troops were guarding the base at Milovice, where Czech troops who had been disarmed were being held, we would track down the men who had escaped from there at night. We would fire into the air, but on one occasion we did hit one man who had escaped.

[Bikont] What sort of contact did you have with the local population?

[Karcz] There were a couple of very cautious meetings. Children would come up to us, although they had been told not to do so by their parents. Their mothers would come and get them then. They would say: What do you know but bullshit; there are no Germans here, there is no counterrevolution.

[Bikont] How did you get involved in setting up the committee?

[Karcz] When we crossed the border and returned to Poland in October, people were proud of us. You could say that we held a victory march through the recovered territories. I was a worker at that time and my colleagues would say "it serves those damned Czechs right," or "I do not like the damned Czechs." However, more often than not the reaction to my experiences was one of indifference. After all, at that time no one had protested apart from Siwiec.

It was only a year later, after listening to Radio Free Europe, that I gradually began to think about what had happened and that I fully realized what I had done. I began to feel ashamed of this part of my past, of the fact that I had been an aggressor, someone occupying another country.

Many years later, in the spring of this year, I read an announcement saying that a Mr Macedonski would give a lecture at a church entitled "Ryszard Siwiec a Living Torch of Protest Against the Violation of Human Rights." I went along. A month before that I had found out that Ryszard Siwiec had burned himself to death on 6 September 1968 at the "10th Anniversary" Stadium in Warsaw during a harvest festival as a protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Following the lecture, it was suggested that a committee be formed, and I became a co-founder. I would like to collect signatures from soldiers, reservists, and officers who took part in the intervention as I did and then issue an appeal to our Czech and Slovak brothers asking for forgiveness.

Ministry Deplores Bulgarian Transit Decision

LD1008150489 Warsaw PAP in English 1332 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 10—In connection with the fact that Bulgarian authorities stopped exchanging transit coupons of the Narodowy Bank Polski (NBP) for Polish citizens going via Bulgaria, the Polish Foreign Ministry's consular department says that in agreement with the NBP it intervened vigorously against Bulgarian authorities' decision.

The Bulgarian ambassador in Poland was summoned to the Foreign Ministry here and the Polish ambassador in Sofia intervened in the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry. The decision by the Bulgarian authorities was made contrary to mutual agreement and without warning. The Polish Foreign Ministry will inform about results of the intervention.

Labor Minister Interviewed on Benefits

LD0908221589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Mical Czarski interview with unidentified correspondent; time, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The Council of Ministers' Economic Committee made decisions today concerning the population's income. For the details, we asked the minister of labor and social affairs [Michal Czarski].

[Correspondent] Minister, what was established in these matters [words indistinct].

[Czarski] The Council of Ministers' Economic Committee made two important decisions, the first concerning changes in the level—and so, an increase in supplements to wages—to family benefits.

[Correspondent] By how much?

[Czarski] The increase amounts to 7,000 zlotys. Supplements will increase by this much.

[Correspondent] [word indistinct] who has already had 8,500 zlotys, which is the most average, will now have 7,000 zlotys more.

[Czarski] Yes. This will then amount to...(?at present) amounts to 15,500. If someone were to receive...since, well, these benefits these supplements are only just being paid out...some have not yet arrived...well, with this supplement which amounted to 10,600 zlotys, it will be increased to a sum of 17,600 zlotys.

[Correspondent] And what about pensioners and annuitants?

[Czarski] Well, quite. Here also, a significant change takes place. Pensioners and annuitants will receive increased pension and annuity benefits, increased by 120 percent. This will be accelerated valorization, which will take place in September this year, backdated to July. Thus, these benefits will increase in a significant way. We are already taking this advance payment of 30,000 zlotys which pensioners and annuitants received in June into account within the valorization sum, and also, we want to already introduce into the composition those supplements which the remaining workers are receiving to their wages and family benefits, so that this is already introduced into the composition of the benefit.

[Correspondent] Will everyone receive this in September?

[Czarski] Yes. All pensioners and annuitants will receive this.

OPZZ on 'Momentary Easing of Price Madness'

LD0908223789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1745 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] [Waclaw Martyniuk, National Confederation of Trade Unions deputy chairman] The secretariat of the National Confederation of Trade Unions [OPZZ] Executive Committee acquainted itself with the results of the talks conducted yesterday and early this morning on compensation for the increase in food prices. It stated the following:

First, the operation for the introduction of market forces into the food economy is, as we predicted, not prepared. Second, we continue to consistently maintain our stance, saying that the increase in prices ought to be fully compensated. Third, finally [as heard], we ascertained that we are pleased that Solidarity, as also the Sejm, took our postulates concerning the full compensation of the increase in food prices into account. Fourth, finally, the additional compensation of 7,000 zlotys, postulated by us and by Solidarity, is inadequate in today's conditions of spontaneous inflation. We think that this sum constitutes only a momentary easing of the price madness. We propose a meeting of interested parties on 23 [month not specified] the interested parties would meet to discuss and establish the level of real compensation on the basis of the real price increase. This new level would ease and level out the consequences of the price increase.

Agricultural Goods Procurement Prices Raised

LD1008224689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] In accordance with the Sejm law dating from July, the minister of finance has increased the minimal official procurement prices for basic agricultural products. For instance, wheat with up to 17 percent moisture content will receive Z12,100 per 100 kilos. For rye, Z9,100; for first grade pig for pork fat and meat, Z1,123 per kilo, and for cattle Z1,138. The procurement price for first grade milk is Z179 per liter in summer; Z224 in winter. The new minimum official procurement prices are in force beginning August. [as heard]

Finance Official: 'Some Chaos' in Prices

LD1008204189 Warsaw PAP in English 1816 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 10—"Undoubtedly, one is right to a considerable extent when one says that there is some chaos in prices, that food price rises are unexpectedly

high," Finance Vice-Minister Wincenty Lewandowski has told PAP, commenting on market situation resulting from the introduction of market mechanisms as of Aug. 1.

"But after over 40 years of our rigid, very tightly controlled price system, administratively fixing prices for all basic foodstuffs (and till the early seventies also for remaining food products) we are simply not able to get accustomed to the new situation in a short time. The possibility of fixing prices by producers in agreement with trade outlets was understood in different ways by various links, distorted many times, and hence often very surprising price decisions," he continued.

"And changing of prices during sales is not admissible at all. We will not tolerate such phenomena. Prices may change but only in relation to new deliveries of goods."

"We assumed that prices would be rising gradually and not rapidly. Unfortunately, it has turned out that the dairy industry, much subsidized and unprofitable, has broken down, while striving to visibly improve its finances on the first occasion," the vice minister said.

"We are not able to normalize the situation immediately. However, we have a concrete chance to do it because of two reasons. First, we have more than three million of agricultural producers, this meaning that agricultural production is deeply demonopolized and competetive. Second, we do and can produce such an amount of food which will guarantee decent food self-sufficiency for the people," the official continued.

"Despite the still existing monopoly for processing and trade in foodstuffs these two factors make it possible for market mechanisms to properly operate, for demonopolization of procurement and processing of milk or meat to gradually take place," he added.

"I hope that this entire difficult socio-economic operation will succeed without population's suffering any essential loss though, undoubtedly, the share of spending on food in family budgets will increase, provided administrative rigours are obeyed in relation to fixing prices for durables. After all, this will be much more relevant to the state of our economy."

Finance Official on Western Aid Prospects

PM0908140489 Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 24 Jul 89 p 4

[Interview with Janusz Sawicki, Under Secretary of State at the Finance Ministry, by KAR correspondent Andrzej Kruze; date, place not given]

[Text] [Kruze] The question of Western support for the reforms being introduced in Poland has recently been highlighted on several occasions in the international forum. It was mentioned in the statement delivered to the National Assembly by President George Bush during his visit to our country, and also in the political declaration issued after the summit meeting of the top seven highly industrialized Western countries. Has a clear-cut concept of the way in which the West intends to help Poland been formulated yet?

[Sawicki] No, a clear-cut concept has not been worked out yet. For example, there is no mention in any of the declarations of the actual amount of the credit which Western countries would be willing to grant Poland. President Bush's treatment of this aspect was only fragmentary. The Paris declaration did not mention it at all.

Nor are matters any clearer when it comes to the concrete ways in which the declared Western assistance is to be organized. Obviously this will depend on decisions made by our principal creditors. Nonetheless, we do not even know whether the assistance will be fragmented into actions organized by individual countries or whether, for example, an international assistance consortium will be set up—like that formed at the time to organize economic assistance for Turkey.

[Kruze] If we do not know this, it is presumably very difficult to speculate on the time when that Western assistance might arrive, is it not?

[Sawicki] The time factor is crucial for Poland. But we cannot speak of any concrete dates with any precision. Much will depend on how fast we can prepare an adjustment program for Polish economy, have it endorsed by the Sejm, and finally obtain IMF approval for it. This, because all our Western partners are awaiting the verdict of that universally respected financial institution.

[Kruze] Individual Western countries have promised to support our attempts to set up credit cooperation with the IMF and the World Bank. Can we, then, assume that there is politically motivated willingness to help Poland gain access to their credits?

[Sawicki] Such politically-motivated willingness may exist, but the IMF and the World Bank are directed in their cooperation policy by economic criteria. And we know that in our case much remains to be done in that area. Experts from both those organizations had a long list of recommendations to make regarding our draft economic program for the years 1989-1992, which was submitted to the IMF and the World Bank at the end of June this year. These recommendations involved substantial elements of the program and carried considerable weight. Let me mention some of them: a tough monetary policy; a quick rise in the interest rate; stronger mechanisms for controlling real incomes, which would in fact lead to a reduction in real incomes; a reduction of the budgetary deficit; and so on. We cannot expect the IMF or the World Bank to agree to apply in Poland's case special conditions less stringent than those applied to other countries under similar circumstances.

[Kruze] Perhaps we can hope for easier conditions and quicker assistance from the Paris Club? The declaration issued after the summit meeting of the Seven says: "We in the Paris Club are ready to support the rescheduling of Polish debt promptly, flexibly, and boldly."

[Sawicki] Yes, but it also mentions that their readiness is conditional on Poland's meeting the provisions set by the International Monetary Fund. This is a typical, and at the same time inflexible, element of the Paris Club's policy toward its creditors. However, we have had signals indicating that, provided we accelerate our work on the adjustment program and secure its approval, it would be possible to agree on deferring our overdue payments to the Paris Club. After all, since February last year we have not been making any regular payments at all. I think that we could also hope to have the costs of servicing our debt to the Paris Club geared to our foreign trade results. But none of these possibilities need mean a flow of new credits for Poland.

[Kruze] If there are so many provisions and conditions attached to Western help for Poland, how should we view the decisions made by the Seven's Paris summit? What new angle have they added to the West's stand on the matter?

[Sawicki] The summit's decisions were primarily political. They are highly significant, though the task of translating them into financial terms could prove a difficult and lengthy operation. The West made a move in response to the changes—particularly the political changes—taking place in Poland. Now it is our move again. In my opinion, this should be to prepare the adjustment program for Polish economy as soon as possible.

[Kruze] This would suggest that the widely advertised "coordination of Western action on Poland" has not really changed the West's stand to any significant extent. Is this how we should interpret it?

[Sawicki] No. A qualitative change did in fact take place. True, the West has always pursued a coordinated policy, but until now it all happened without our participation. This time the coordination is becoming "visible," which opens up for us the possibility of dialogue. Such a situation is much more advantageous from our viewpoint. Moreover, a number of agreements have already been reached. These involve, among other things, a positive approach to the question of custom tariff concessions, an agreement to guarantee capital investments in Poland by Western companies, and better relations with the EEC. All that has created a new climate around Polish questions.

[Kruze] But, Minister, when will we all have tangible evidence that this climate is now more favorable for us?

[Sawicki] In other words, when will Western credits improve the situation in our market? Well, your question reflects a common misconception. Neither can we ourselves afford Western credits for consumption purposes, nor will the West agree to grant us such credits. Food aid, declared recently by the EEC, is quite another matter. There are indications that this should reach us in October. On the other hand, credits granted within the framework of planned support for our economic reform will be allocated for the development and modernization of our industry, expansion of exports, establishment of new firms, and so on. Consequently, the results of these actions will become evident only after some time. Nothing substantial can happen overnight in the economy.

Daily on Possible Government Crisis

AU0908184389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Aug 89 p 3

[Waldemar Mickiewicz article: "Some Thoughts On the Premiership Debate"]

[Text] We have only just got over the presidential crisis and even the opposition has breathed a sigh of relief, when now we are faced, in my opinion, by a new crisis, a government crisis.

The majority in the Sejm decided that Czeslaw Kiszczak should be charged with forming the government. Nevertheless, the nature of the parliamentary debate and the matters which have accrued around this subject have done nothing to allay existing fears. The foreseeable results of a possible government crisis, though possibly less dramatic than the presidential crisis, do not mean that such a crisis will be any less dangerous to the state, and especially to the economy.

One may well ask: What is the problem? The party and its coalition allies who together constitute a majority in the Sejm have made use of this majority and designated their chosen person to be premier. In the same way the government can be formed quickly and efficiently. This is the simple result of the Sejm "arithmetic." Thus, where is the crisis?

A closer inspection of "parliamentary arithmetic," and especially an analysis of the election results, will show that it is not such a simple, or obvious matter. The effect of the Sejm majority is weakened by a Senate which is almost totally controlled by the opposition. Its powers give it ample opportunities to block government initiatives and the action of the Sejm majority.

The Sejm majority may also be subject to fluctuations from time to time. The cohesion of the coalition and the solidarity of the deputies in the separate deputies' clubs vary. Differences may appear in the course of voting.

Finally, the results of the June elections have given to the opposition a greater significance than is indicated by mere parliamentary "arithmetic." The situation is such that, although the formation of a government is possible without the opposition, it is still not known if such a government will be able to govern without the participation of politicians designated by the opposition. The reason for this is because the problems confronting every government today require from it an enormous persuasive force.

I was gladdened to hear Czeslaw Kiszczak's statement where he clearly indicated that he is fully conscious of the dangers he faces, and he will not spare any efforts to form a "grand coalition" government. I would name such a future government "a government for the economic salvation of Poland," but personally I doubt whether such a government is possible.

The fact that the opposition did not vote for Kiszczak, and in various ways gave to understand that only it can "save" the country, demonstrated the natural way that a parliamentary opposition acts. As any opposition force in parliament, it is aiming to form its own an alternative government. This is natural and springs from its aspirations to govern, and from the logic of interests which direct its actions if it is to survive and flourish. Although it may be natural it is by no means desirable or beneficial for the state. In the present Polish circumstances it is not yet possible to play such a classical parliamentary game. In writing this I am considering the interest of the state and not just of my own party, in other words the interest which unites all other interests, also those of the opposition.

In a country where normal economic conditions prevail, where the parliamentary system is mature, the present situation would not merit contemplating a possible government crisis. If one takes into account the Polish realities, and especially the collapsing economy, the opposition refusal to create a "grand coalition" sounds like the herald, and may even be the start, of such a crisis. The Polish economic situation requires a government that has the support of the various parties. It must after all effectively tackle the ever increasing disintegration. This will mean rapid and often unpopular decisions. If it is to act in such circumstances for any length of time, namely years rather than months, it will need concentrated social support and not mere parliamentary "arithmetic."

Let us return to the beginning, to the issue of what constitutes a crisis. In my opinion, it is the fact that hitherto there has been no possibility of forming a government that would have such concentrated social and political support. The outlook for forming a government that would through its social and political influence be capable of effectively stopping the process of the disintegration of the economy is bleak. In my opinion, neither a "Solidarity" government, nor a party, nor the hitherto ruling coalition government will be able to do this. They will not be able to cope with the problems stemming from the Polish economy.

This is not a new idea. The "roundtable" was an expression of such a hope. Later, just before the elections, Wojciech Jaruzelski, then first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, put forward the idea of a "grand coalition." Let us not forget that he did this at a time when the extent of the PZPR defeat was not known. This idea simply put forward interests than were wider than the interests of the PZPR.

From the ranks of the opposition, apart from those who reject this idea outright, there are many voices which are suggesting joint government. One of the best known alternatives is: "Your President—Our Premier." Such thoughts among the opposition ranks suggest that they are also conscious of the great dangers, and they see that the success of the "Polish experiment" requires something more than a narrow party or "narrow opposition" approach to the problem of government in our country.

And yet the idea of a "grand coalition" has been rejected so far. Although the new premier has opened wide the door to such a coalition, one cannot see many people heading toward it. Therefore we have a situation where although a government is now forming, it is already suffering serious limitations in the very hour of its birth and is exposed to danger and an absence of political strength, and might be incapable of performing the economic rescue activity that is surely waiting for it.

If what I have written is the truth, then the following question is also justified: Does the fact that the PZPR surrendered its parliamentary monopoly at the 10th Central Committee Plenum not mean that the party too is only jointly responsible for the way in which governments function? Does it not mean that the party too has acquired the right to become an opposition?

For some reason, this kind of question has not yet been asked publicly. The effect of such a possible stance by the party has not been examined. Although this problem has not been discussed in public, a lot is being said about it quietly. It is correct to do so quietly rather than publicly, because a large body of party aktivs might find it a very attractive idea to be in the luxurious situation of an opposition, when one is not responsible for anything but is nevertheless capable of doing a lot.

The conduct of the parliamentary opposition so far indicates that the opposition wants to control governments, but does not want to take part in them. It wants others to do so and "get their hands dirty" with the work of governing. Preferring to stand on the sidelines and dictate or veto policies, the opposition wants to preserve not only its chastity but also its real influence on events and its control over the government.

The fact that the PZPR no longer has an absolute parliamentary majority is not the only reason for party thoughts about transferring to the opposition if Kiszczak fails. Another reason is the fact that the elections gave the party only the right to jointly govern. That imposes restrictions on the party, but not just restrictions. It might sound like a paradox, but it also gives the party more room for maneuvering. Among other things, it is opening the door to the opposition for the party.

However, if the party recommends "its man," Kiszczak, as premier and expresses the desire to form a strong government with as wide a political base as possible, it does not do so because it sees no chance of becoming an opposition. It does so because it considers itself responsible for the transformations that it started, domestic stability, and Poland's international situation. It is rising to the challenge. Last but not least, it is the party's historic responsibility to see to it that Poland's defense capability, domestic order, and international status do not suffer too much damage at a time of dramatic changes in the system.

The PZPR cannot become an opposition whenever it wants to, without regard to the consequences thereof for Poland.

Let me say this straight: In my view, Kiszczak does not have to form a government, and the PZPR no longer has to answer for the work of governments in Poland. The structure of forces in parliament is such that no single force is capable of shouldering the burden of responsibility for the country without the help of the other forces. This is especially so at a time when the country's economy is in a state of collapse. That is why the party has suggested a "grand coalition" government, has nominated its best people, and is aiming toward a coalition of as many component parts of the Polish political scene as possible.

A "government for the economic salvation of Poland" in which the party would share power and responsibility with other groups, including today's Solidarity opposition, is a chance. Will it be taken? And what if the attempt to create a strong government fails? Will the PZPR and its elected premier adhere to their present positions? Will they opt for a weak government that is dependent upon the opposition and is incapable of dealing with the present exceptional internal and economic circumstances?

There is still no answer to these questions. Right now all one can do is wish that the new premier's determination to create a strong multiparty government succeeds. That lies in the interests of Poles, the Polish state, and of course the opposition. The economy needs such a government. I think that unless the economy normalizes, the excellently developing process of democratization and political renewal and today's structure of parliamentary forces will all collapse.

'Heated' Discussion by Stalin Commission

LD1008205489 Warsaw PAP in English
1845 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 10—The commission for commemorating the victims of Stalinist repressions, operating at the council for protection of the memory of struggle and martyrdom, held a session here today to review its to-date activity.

The commission discussed the participation of its members in ventures aimed to explain the mystery of mass graves in Otwock, near Warsaw, at the Sluzewiec cemetery in Walbrzyska St in Warsaw and in Giby, northeastern Poland. In the latter place the work was resumed on exhumation, following the initiative of the commission. The commission also touched upon the concept of collective commemoration of the victims of Stalinist repressions.

The body decided to start efforts to publish the names and biographies of political activists, generals, officers and others who had been unjustly repressed and also to make the names of persons responsible for trials available to the public.

Plaques commemorating the resting places of those who were shot or perished in prisons will be the first placed at the Powazki cemetery in Warsaw and at castles in Lublin, Rzeszow and Sandomierz.

After a long and heated discussion the commission adopted a stance in which it voiced the conviction that crimes committed on Polish Army officers and soldiers and on other Polish citizens interned in camps in Kozielsk, Starobielsk, Ostaszkow and other localities in the Soviet Union since Autumn, 1939, are not subject to limitation.

Therefore, the commission applied to the Polish prosecutor-general to start investigation proceedings on the matter and ask appropriate Soviet authorities to settle the scale, circumstances and places of all those crimes.

Ceausescu Interview to Turkish Daily

AU1008190989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1653 GMT 10 Aug 89

["Interview granted by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the Turkish Daily TERCUMAN"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/8/1989—In this interview, released in Bucharest today, President Nicolae Ceausescu approaches a string of questions related to the development of the present Romanian society, as well as current international aspects.

- The Romanian-Turkish relations:

The relations between Romania and Turkey can be assessed as good. They have marked steady progress in every domain. Particularly, I want to mention with great satisfaction the development of the economic, technological, scientific and cultural relations between our countries. I would also mention the meetings between the two countries' leaders—between myself and the president of Turkey—which I think have had an important role in the general development of the collaboration between our countries. Let me also mention the meetings between the two countries' prime ministers, ministers and businessmen.

Although Romania and Turkey belong to different military blocs our countries' stands on important issues of world life are similar and we work toward their settlement in the interests of peace, of collaboration among all nations of the world. Considering the current level of the relations between Romania and Turkey and starting from Romania's socioeconomic development targets, I think we have great possibilities at hand to expand our collaboration—in the economic, technological, scientific and in many other domains—to both countries' advantage.

- Romania's current stage and prospects of socioeconomic development:

Romania celebrates 45 years this year since the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation. For almost a year we have debated in the party and with the whole people the current development stage of the Romanian socialist society. We can say that Romania has turned from a poorly developed agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian socialist country, with a modern industry in full progress, with socialist agriculture that has recorded very good results.

We have started—especially after the party's 9th Congress in 1965—from the fact that we build socialism in our country's specific conditions, giving up set patterns, "models," applying the objective laws and the principles of scientific socialism to the realities in Romania. In this connection I would like to stress the constant preoccupation for the development of the socialist property—in the form of the whole people's and the cooperative property—that ensures the harmonious development of the whole economy. As a matter of fact the capital assets have grown more than tenfold in this period.

Considering the current development stage of the Romanian socialist society, we have worked out the programme-directive of our homeland's future development until the year 2000 and, in some domains by 2010, which is currently debated with the whole party and people and is to be submitted for approval to the 14th Congress of the party due at the end of this year. In this programme we start from the necessity to continue the development of the productive forces, of industry, agriculture—as basic branches of the Romanian economy—and of the other branches of activity accordingly. We intend to give pride of place to the intensive development of all branches of activity, to their updating and organization based on the most advanced science and technology.

We think we must do everything possible for the powerful development of scientific research, of education, ensuring the training of cadres for all domains of activity and the raising of the whole nation's general level of culture. To this end, all young people will be encompassed in the 12-year compulsory schooling programme starting next year.

We also intend to continue the policy of development of the social sectors and settle the housing issue in towns and cities by 1995. Equally, we mean to ensure in all rural settlements dwellings similar to those built in towns for workers, experts and teaching staff. Also, we want the commune residents to improve their houses, both on their own and with state aid so as to raise the general standard of living in villages also in point of housing.

In our whole activity for the country's development we want to deepen the principles of self-management, self-administration of all localities—both of towns and of communes. We work for the powerful development of the agricultural activity in communes but also for the development of certain industrial activities. We also work to ensure the best conditions—corresponding to those in towns—for instruction, for people's health, for educative and cultural activities, for meeting other economic and social requirements, that should ensure the raising of the level of civilization of all inhabitants. We start from the fact that commune residents too, must be able to benefit from all the gains of civilization and we do everything possible in order to bring the living standard of the rural localities closer to that in towns. We think it is only in this way that we will ensure the building of a society of justice and equality that should offer all its members fine living conditions in every respect.

- The major issues of international life:

We think that the current world situation can be characterized as very complex and also grave. True, certain steps have been taken toward detente in recent years. Negotiations on disarmament are conducted. An accord between the Soviet Union and the U.S. on the medium-range missiles has been achieved. But this is only a little drop in the ocean of nuclear weapons and of weapons in general, since the nuclear weapons that exist can destroy the whole of mankind several times over. Right now the NATO discusses the modernization of the short-range and tactical nuclear missiles which means to increase at least fourfold their destructive power. Not only would the effect of the accord between the Soviet Union and the U.S. on the medium-range missiles be offset if these measures were applied, but a force several times bigger than that of the medium-range weapons would be created that can destroy mankind. That is why we cannot be content at all or rest assured.

The decision to continue the "nuclear deterrence" policy was affirmed at the recent NATO meeting and at the Paris meeting of the rich seven capitalist countries, meaning that the necessary conclusions regarding the renunciation of the policy of strength failed to be drawn and that there is still a long way to a new thinking and a new policy. The arms race continues too. And so does the researches related to the so-called star wars.

That is why the most important issue of our epoch is to halt the arms race, pass on to the achievement of accords on the concrete elimination of nuclear weapons by 2000, of adequate accords on the elimination of chemical weapons—in close association with the elimination of the nuclear weapons—as well as to the conclusion of adequate accords at the Vienna negotiations on conventional weapons.

We think all these negotiations should not result in token measures but in a radical reduction of these weapons under adequate international control.

Likewise, action should be taken for the settlement of all inter-state disputes by negotiations only.

Another very grave issue is underdevelopment, the world's division into a small group of rich countries and a big majority of the world's states that live in poverty. It is well known that the developing countries' condition has worsened in this decade when they have grown poorer.

Likewise, there are many other important issues like the ecologic ones—the environmental issues—that worry and must worry all peoples today. The policy that has very gravely affected the ecologic situation, the environment, and that endangers mankind's life and future must be stopped.

To this I should add the grave issues in the developed countries, like unemployment, the fact that 20-30 percent of the young people do not have secure jobs, the growing number of homeless and hence social debasement, the mounting crime, drug addiction and so many other facts.

But, I repeat it, the fundamental issues that must concern us are first of all disarmament and underdevelopment. These issues cannot be settled by a few countries alone. All states, and the small and medium-sized countries first of all, should most resolutely commit themselves to the struggle for the settlement of these issues. The UN, other international organizations should play a greater role in their settlement.

As for underdevelopment, we are for an international conference participated in by developing countries and rich countries alike, so as to ensure the joint settlement of these issues, including the developing countries' foreign debts and the establishment of new principles of economic relations based on equality and mutual advantage.

Current preoccupations for democratization and improved management of socialist society:

I would like to mention that as a whole the socialist countries have scored important achievements in socio-economic development. Starting from realities in Romania, but also in other countries, it can be said that life demonstrates that when peoples adopt a way of development that should eliminate social inequalities, great possibilities are created for economic and social progress.

Socialism just like other social systems, past and present—must permanently take account of the new gains of science and technology, continuously improve its forms of organization, in every domain—including the methods of governing society.

As far as Romania is concerned, it has considered that the development of socialist democracy and the creation of new democratic bodies of working people are a vital necessity for the provision of conditions of building socialism with the people and for the people. No doubt, we have attached great importance to parliament—or the Grand National Assembly. Its very composition is new, as it is made up of workers, peasants, intellectuals and other categories of working people. Several nominations are made for one seat. And the same applies to the county, town and commune people's councils.

But we considered and consider it necessary to create new bodies—the councils of working people—in all units, and in industry over 30 percent of their membership are workers. Sure, there are peasants in agriculture, there are intellectuals or other categories of working people in instruction, scientific and other units. But we have tried to ensure the participation of a certain

number of workers in such councils as well, since the working class makes the big majority of the population in our society and it adequately has to act also an important part in governing the society. But, I repeat it, we have equally ensured the adequate participation of all categories of working people in the management of all sectors of activity.

Likewise, we have created bodies at a national level. Besides mass and public organizations in all domains, as well as the socialist democracy and unity organization.

I have mentioned all this because we think that what is being done in some socialist countries means preoccupations for the improvement of the forms of management.

I want to be very clearly understood—there are also some phenomena which we consider as wrong, but we start from the fact every party, every people must adequately establish its economic development path. The improvement of the forms of management, democratization are a permanent necessity in socialism as well, for we have always to take account of the new conditions, of the development of science, technology, of culture, to find better forms of governing the society. But I think this means to go forward not backward. The theses regarding the privatization, meaning a return to the capitalist forms of ownership, are not only not fit to open progress prospects but, as assessed even by some newspapers in the developed capitalist countries, they will take the society back, to capitalism.

But we look with confidence to the future and think that parties in the respective countries, the people—the working class first of all—will know how to preserve, to consolidate the achievements and ensure the development of the socialist society in adequate forms, the meet realities in every country but that entail a society of justice and equity among citizens, that should exclude oppression and inequality.

As far as we are concerned, it is in this spirit that we have elaborated the documents I have mentioned regarding Romania's future development and we firmly believe that the future belongs to a more just and better world where socialism will stand out as the system that gives mankind a new perspective of progress.

For turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation:

Romania's activity for developing its collaboration with other states and preserving peace in Europe attaches special attention to the problems of peace and security in the Balkans. My country declares firmly for the region's transformation into a zone free of nuclear weapons, foreign military bases and chemical arms, a zone that should provide for broad collaboration between all peoples here in behalf of economic and social development, and for close friendship between them.

As a matter of truth, there still are a number of problems between different states in the Balkans. However, our opinion is that they should be neither dramatized nor exagerated. The point to start from should be that any country in the Balkans, like anywhere in the world, must settle its problems freely and independently, that the only judge of whether a problem is solved correctly or not is that country's people.

So I think that the steps taken in the last few years by holding meetings, including at the level of foreign ministers or in the economic field should continue. We would like the Balkan countries to surmount certain problems between them, to let, if we could say so, these problems be solved while developing cooperation and friendship between them. It is beyond doubt that they will find good solutions. Even though the countries in the Balkans, except for Yugoslavia which does not belong to any bloc, are members of two antagonistic military blocs, to search for the paths of understanding and collaboration meets their interests.

Much could be done as concerns economic collaboration, collaboration in the field of transport, science and technique. The Balkan countries can solve together a lot of problems. There are many problems connected to the environment and, bearing in mind that we have to take an active part in the process of disarmament and in the transformation of our region into a zone of peace, surely as part of the general process of disarmament at a world level, we are for taking steps in this direction.

Considering that Romania has good relations with all the Balkan countries, we would like and are determined to do all we can in order to contribute to the further development of our collaboration which may set an example of relations between neighbours irrespective of the fact that they have different social systems.

Romania's actions for the settlement of the Middle East issues:

Romania has always spoken up for the exclusively negotiated settlement of litigious issues. Such is the spirit in which we have acted also with respect to the Middle East problems. Our starting point is the necessity for a political solution which should secure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and creation of an independent state of its own. In a way, we, too, contributed to the attainment of some goals connected to the solution of the problems in the region, such as the making of peace between Egypt and Israel.

We strongly speak up for an international conference on the Middle East which should be attended by all the countries concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the newly created Palestinian state, as well as Israel. In our opinion conditions now are auspicious for such a conference and no effort should be spared to this end.

We have always declared for the cessation of the Iraq-Iran war. We welcomed the end of fighting and hold that every effort should be exerted in coming to an overall solution, to lasting peace as fast as possible.

This answers not only the two countries' interests, but those of all Mideast countries, Turkey's too which is a neighbour of both of them, as well as Romania's. I say so thinking not only of our general policy, but of the close links my country was with those countries, and with the Middle East, through all its activity.

For all states' participation in the settlement of the international issues:

Romania declares consistently that all states of the world, regardless of size and social system, should take part in the settlement of the world's complex problems. In particular, we hold that small and medium-sized countries, developing and non-aligned countries should participate much more actively in the settlement of complex international issues. To this end, we are of the opinion that the principles of full equality, observance of independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage should be promoted in the relations among states in the utmost firmness.

We ought to do all we can so that the United Nations, other international bodies play a greater part in world affairs. As for myself, I think every necessary effort should be mounted with a view to attaining the objectives of security, disarmament and cooperation in Europe, in agreement with the Helsinki documents. Romania and Turkey are straightly interested in the broad development of relations among the European countries, in overcoming of various existing barriers and in achievement of a united Europe of free, independent nations having equal rights, on the basis of diversity of social systems. We are against supernational bodies. To our mind, the existence of independent nations will constitute for a long time to come the basis of human development. I consider that the Middle East problems, Turkey's and other states' contribution to the making of peace there should also be regarded in this spirit. In our view, Turkey can really play a significant role and help build peace in the Middle East which will consolidate sensibly the conditions of independent development of the peoples in the Middle East, Turkey's too.

Still, I stress it once again, it is necessary to act so that the point of departure should always be observance of independence and non-interference in internal affairs, to achieve in the Middle East, in the Balkans, in Europe a collaboration that would allow each nation to progress.

Turkish Ships Visit Constanta Port
AU1008194189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1651 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/8/1989—The "Sokullu Mehmet Pasha" Turkish military training ship called at the Romanian port of Constanta over August 7-10.

The leader, accompanied by a group of Turkish officers, paid formal calls on the mayor of Constanta and on the deputy commander of the navy. A floral wreath was laid at the Victory Memorial in Constanta on behalf of the guests.

The crew visited the Marine Institute, cultural and artistic units, as well as historic monuments in Constanta and on the Romanian Black Sea coast.

Personnel Changes
AU1008162889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1452 GMT 10 Aug 89

["Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the National Council of Agriculture"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/8/1989—On Thursday, August 10, the proceedings started in Bucharest of an enlarged plenary meeting of the National Council of Agriculture, the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management.

The plenary meeting of this important democratic forum gathers roughly 5,000 people. Besides members of the National Council, the proceedings are attended by first secretaries and secretaries in charge of agricultural affairs of party county committees, staff in responsible posts in ministries and in other central institutions, executives of state and cooperative farming units, researchers, cooperative farmers, mechanical workers, experts and other working people in agriculture, the food industry, silviculture and water management, party and state activists, activists of mass and public organizations.

The agenda includes reports on the major conclusions of the activity the national council carried through in the first seven months of 1989, on production and financial results, as well as on measures to be taken with a view to fulfilling the tasks under the state plan for 1989 and the special programmes for the development of agriculture, the food industry, silviculture and water management; the draft national plan for economic and social development in 1990 in the branches and fields of activity in the composition of the national council; the draft master programme of the Fourteenth RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Congress on Romania's socioeconomic development in the five-year plan period spanning 1991-1995 and the guidelines until the years 2000-2010; programmes of measures for the autumn farming campaign, the attainment of the planned livestock and livestock productions and, respectively, the improvement of financial activities and the economic and organizational consolidation of cooperative farming units.

The plenary meeting approved the Florea Gruia's release from the executive bureau of the council and the election to the executive bureau of Viorel Vizureanu, minister secretary of state, head of the State Department of Agriculture, and of Iulian Plostinaru, chairman of the National Union of Producer Cooperative Farms.

In the morning the items in the agenda were discussed in plenum and in the afternoon the proceedings were held in sections by areas of activity. At the same time, a meeting of the central commission of farm producers in hilly and mountainous areas took place.

The proceedings of the plenary meeting continue.

Further on U.S. Senate Resolution, Paraga Issue

Foreign Spokesman Comments

AU1008135789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Excerpt] The resolution adopted at the U.S. Senate last week is based on untruths and tendentious interpretations of events several years old and represents an act directed against Yugoslavia and against the traditionally good relations between the two countries. This was, among other things, what Ivo Vajgl, spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, said at his regular news conference. Here is a report by Branislav Canak:

The first official Yugoslav reaction to the resolution adopted by the Senate of U.S. Congress, has certainly attracted the greatest attention of the press representatives present here. This is what Ivo Vajgl also said about this unpleasant political move:

[Begin Vajgl recording] This is an event to which we in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs attach the greatest attention. Before this unbelievable [cudovisan] resolution was adopted, the charge d'affairs of the SFRY Embassy in Washington intervened at the State Department and was given answers and assurances that were not confirmed by the following events. He then intervened again and we instructed him concerning his further steps.

Both Congress and the State Department could see in advance that this move could not be interpreted as anything but a move contrary to real interests of mutual cooperation.

It is not insignificant to point out that the gesture of the U.S. Senate was both formally and essentially at variance with the established procedure of initiating questions pertaining to the human rights sphere and that the entire procedure was based exclusively on the statements made by Paraga and the like-minded people from the ranks of extremist anti-Yugoslav emigrants.

It goes without saying that the resolution adopted by the American Senate does direct harm to the relations between Yugoslavia and the United States of America, relations that should be cherished and furthered by both countries together.

Yugoslavia certainly bears no responsibility for the consequences of this American move. Regarding the tone of the resolution and the demands it contains, they certainly tell much about the authors of the resolution who obviously still think that sovereign countries can be addressed in a way that has been long overcome where Yugoslavia is concerned. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Radio Presents Paraga History

AU1008204789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Dobrosav Paraga, about whom one is hearing once again thanks to the U.S. Senate, was convicted by the Grand Bench of the District Court of Zagreb in 1981. At the trial, the court established that Paraga had been in contact with an emigre organization and had helped it in its hostile activities, and that he had smuggled propaganda materials onto Yugoslav territory.

The court found him guilty of having established contacts with Stjepan Bilandzic, a representative of Ustasha terrorist organizations, in Cologne in 1980. He had maintained constant contacts with this man for the purpose of activities against Yugoslavia.

After serving his sentence of 4 years, Paraga was again in court in 1987, this time in the Zagreb Communal Court. He was found guilty of presenting false statements in NOVA REVIJA and MLADINA, with the intention of causing dissatisfaction and alarm among citizens. He was given a conditional sentence of 6 months' imprisonment, and at the same time he was banned from appearing in print, on the radio and television, and at public gatherings for a period of 3 years.

Dobrosav Paraga, as a Yugoslav citizen, may now freely move in his country and abroad with a regular passport. No other measures have been taken against him, and he has not been expelled from the country, as it is said. He has also not been banned from returning to Croatia, as he tries to at present.

Senate Backing Terrorists

LD1108023289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2010 GMT 10 Aug 89

["Dobroslav Paraga, collaborator of Ustashi terrorists"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 10 (TANJUG)—In supporting the "endeavours of Dobroslav Paraga, 29, for strengthened protection of human rights in Yugoslavia," U.S. senators, being aware of it or not, have indirectly backed up international terrorism—the Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI daily writes today.

The paper reiterates that the main "hero" of the U.S. Senate resolution of last Friday was sentenced to three years' jail in Croatian capital Zagreb on May 20, 1981, for crimes against the foundation of the Yugoslav social order and security and for taking part in hostile activities and propaganda.

The prosecution charged the 21-year-old student Paraga with establishing and maintaining contact in Cologne with Stjepan Bilandzic, member of the Ustashi terrorist

organization in West Germany for the purpose of perpetrating hostile activities against Yugoslavia until his arrest on November 21, 1980—the daily says.

During the Second World War, the Ustashi collaborated with the Nazi-Fascist occupiers of Yugoslavia and established a notorious puppet state called "The Independent State of Croatia (NDH)" where hundreds of thousands of people had lost their lives.

Further, as proved during his trial, Paraga received from Bilandzic a major quantity of matter printed by emigre organisations of Ustashi terrorists and illegally brought it into Yugoslavia.

Paraga also accepted a task given him by Bilandzic of starting in Zagreb a bulletin on a chauvinist platform and took money for purchasing a mimeograph machine and renting premises for that purpose.

Falsely pretending to be a journalist for POLET, a student newspaper in Zagreb, Paraga also deceived a number of outstanding people offering them to sign a petition to Yugoslavia's State Presidency for enacting a bill on amnesty for people convicted of political verbal delicts. To the list of signatures, however, Paraga added a new demand for pardoning the perpetrators of the heaviest acts of crime such as terrorism, spying and the like.

Paraga sent such a falsified petition with original signatures to Yugoslavia's State Presidency and forwarded its copies to DER SPIEGEL, a West German newspaper, and NOVA HRVATSKA (NEW CROATIA), a newspaper of the Ustashi terrorist organisation, after having added to them his comments on every of the 43 signers. Paraga won his appeal to the Federal Court and his sentence was commuted from five to four years. On release, the Zagreb court in 1987 passed a suspended sentence on Paraga for disseminating false assertions in domestic newspapers that had upset the public.

Paraga, a Yugoslav citizen, now moves freely at home and abroad. He carries the Yugoslav passport and no steps have been taken against him, nor has he been "expelled from the country" as he alleges,

He and his family are not banned from returning to "their home in Croatia" as he intends to present.

Further on Greek Stand on Macedonian Issue

LD0908172889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1510 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Athens, August 9 (TANJUG)—The Association of "All-Macedonian Emigrants" living in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand has recently declared a real propaganda war against Yugoslavia and its Republic of Macedonia. The participants in the association's congress, organized by the Greek State, accused Yugoslavia of "falsifying history" and said they would propagate the truth", which official Athens was spreading about Macedonia and Macedonians in Yugoslavia.

Official Athens claims that neither the Macedonian nation, its language nor culture exist and that, hence, the Macedonian minority in Greece also does not exist.

It is really pointless to engage into polemics with such a stand, construed in keeping with the wish to establish national uniformity at all costs. Because, it is not that Athens cannot but that it will not understand that all citizens of Greece or any other country have the inalienable right to declare what people they belong to and what the country they are living in cannot determine their nationality instead of them.

The Macedonian nation has and will exist no doubt just as any other people in Yugoslavia or the Balkans—no matter what the Greek official circles and their marionettes say or forge. That is a historical fact, whether the Greek Government likes it or not.

Greek President Khristos Sartzetakis, who opened the emigrants' congress in Thessaloniki, joined in the latest anti-Yugoslav campaign and thus promoted the current unfounded accusations against the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and Yugoslavia into official ones. He, of course, spoke about "falsifiers of history", certain "vicious plans" and "hate towards Greece" and insinuated that Yugoslavia stood behind all of this.

The Congress of Greek Emigrants confirmed entirely the opposite: that it is, in fact, the other side, which has declared a war and "employed all means" against Yugoslavia and its allegedly "well-organized and well-financed" propaganda against Greece's "historical truth."

Official Athens is obviously not prepared to stop here. According to statements heard at the emigrants' congress, Greece will try to "bring to their senses" "naive and suspicious foreigners", who, as a congress participant emphasized, accept "ridiculous allegations" about the existence of the Macedonian nation and Macedonian language.

It was not explicitly said how Greece will succeed in this, since these "naive and suspicious foreigners" are, in fact, prominent universities throughout the world, encyclopaedias, states and leaders, who acknowledge Macedonia and the Macedonian people do not agree to conform to the daily needs of Greece's policy and propaganda.

'Appalled' by Sartzetakis Statement

LD1008174589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1545 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, August 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is appalled by the claims of Greek President Khristos Sartzetakis negating the existence of the Macedonian

nation, which makes up one of Yugoslavia's federal units, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a press conference here today.

Speaking recently in Salonika, Sartzetakis said, among other things, that "hatred is still fostered against Greece in Yugoslavia," "history falsified," and added that "Macedonia was and will be Greek."

We were unpleasantly surprised by the manner in which the president of neighbouring Greece, using words and phrases not befitting the occasion, spoke on questions which encroach upon the sovereignty and vital interests of Yugoslavia, Vajgl said.

He added Yugoslavia would find a way to decisively react to the occurrence which is unacceptable to good-neighbourly relations.

Drnovsek Meets With Cuban Foreign Minister

LD1008111489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1028 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Aug (TANJUG)—Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received at Brioni Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca at the end of his official visit to Yugoslavia.

During the talks, which were also attended by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, reference was made to ways of promoting bilateral cooperation and to the preparations for the coming summit conference of nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

LCY's Pancevski Receives Portugal's Cunhal

LD1008153389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1111 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Ohrid, 10 Aug (TANJUG)—In Ohrid today, Milan Pancevski, President of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee, had talks with Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party, who is on a visit to our country with his wife.

In a friendly and cordial atmosphere, the interlocutors infomed each other about the activities of the two parties on the domestic scene. They also discussed international issues with special emphasis on current trends and processes in socialist countries and Western Europe.

They also talked about bilateral cooperation between the LCY and the Portuguese Communist Party which was described as being friendly and good.

Yesterday in Skopje Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal had a meeting with Mihail Danev, secretary of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium.

Daily Views Commentaries on Last Plenum

AU0908150589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 89 p 4

[D. Pusonjic report: "Reins Made of Cobwebs"]

[Text] Yet another plenum that has not lived up to expectations and produced results—this could be the joint assessment of numerous commentaries in the Yugoslav media concerning the 25th plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] devoted to interethnic relations.

Concluding that, regarding results, the plenum "will not produce anything new," VECERNJE NOVOSTI in its commentary entitled "Who Will Outplay Whom" (by Nenad Stojanovic), states that the only "positive" effect of this plenum was contained in the "shocking and absurd realization that the state of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia (the worst since the war) is in fact extremely 'good' considering the extent of quarreling between inter-republican leaderships which are at the same time pushing entire nations into these quarrels and clashes." Asserting that it has been demonstrated that "all those who expected an end to the long-lasting general party jihad [Arabic word used] are forgetting the reality and that the party leadership of this country has been operating for some time only in terms of assessing the balance of the power in the forum," and that "the party leadership is only left with reins made of cobwebs," the Belgrade paper concludes that one cannot expect from "this Central Committee" to hold the so-called "lozenge tablet" plenums after which Yugoslavia will breath better, when it is well-known that many conscientious LCY members agree that at present "it is perhaps a historic task of the Central Committee to somehow remain on its feet until the congress. It does not matter what happens after."

Prisoners of Their Own Inability

Novi Sad DNEVNIK (in commentary entitled "There Was No Reconciliation" by Milan Delovic) stresses, inter alia, that after the plenum there was a "dilemma as to whether this Central Committee, with its present membership, can properly prepare the 14th Congress. Does it not perhaps need a general overhaul so that the congress does not end as our greatest disappointment?" At the end, the commentary wonders whether it would be worth considering the "demand by Borislav Mihelic that the process of ideological differentiation be carried out in the Central Committee as soon as possible." The answer to the question of "why the Central Committee has been the way it has, and whether it could have been different," was that it was already clear "during and after the introductory speech by Ivica Racan, which turned the debate in the opposite direction from the intended, that something was not right." The admission of the LCY Central Committee Presidium that it had only "skimmed through" Racan's speech, DNEVNIK concludes, is in a way a dissociation and an admission by the

party leadership that "it does not agree with certain views in that speech," after which (speech) there was no longer any dilemma as to whether to 'make war' or 'make peace'—"everything had gotten out of control."

Considering the present LCY Central Committee, together with all its Yugoslav branches, to be nothing else but "a prisoner of its own inability," Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in its commentary entitled "'Make War' or 'Make Peace'" (author Vlastimir Mijovic) says that during the discussion at the plenum "everybody was left to recognize on their own what refers to them, and to what extent," and that "our party officials behaved as underground fighters had done in the past, adopting as their motto and pledge not to admit anything." If the Central Committee does not show itself to be capable and ready to restrain nationalist passions by the adoption of the conclusions at the next session, "the just ended 2-day session should be continued...until all the matters are clarified.... Major political clashes will be inevitable, and this will be the end of 'peace making.' When wars are waged in politics, every victory is a Pyrrhic victory. However, even as such, it would still be better than what we have at present: defeat after defeat."

Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (in a commentary entitled "Transparent Shield" by Ivanka Perisin-Susic) asserts that this plenum will be remembered for its retorts. "It is obvious that many people used this plenum for a showdown, that they used it as a battlefield at which they were boastingly warning others to leave 'national leaders' alone, or were accusing them of laying cuckoo's eggs in other people's nests." The paper concludes that the plenum has demonstrated that "nationalism itself was also the means to which the people resorted in order to unite and attain good positions for themselves in economic and social reforms."

New Equilibrium

In a commentary entitled "Isolated Homogenization," Ljubljana DELO writes that Serbian nationalism, "to which many people have turned a blind eye," and "which caused many political upheavals in the country recently," found its way onto the agenda in one way or another. "We will not say," the paper continues, "that the representatives of the several republics had agreed among themselves about the 'isolation' of the Serbian (national) homogenization, but it was surprising indeed to see with what resolve the majority of views emanating from the 'anti-bureaucratic revolution circles' and all their various derivations which are supposed to have a 'general Yugoslav value,' were rejected at the session."

The same paper is of the opinion that a new equilibrium was established at the plenum, and thus in politics, in which—along with the principled denunciation of nationalism in general—Milosevic's national program in particular got "short shrift." What really happened was that "the Macedonians, the Montenegrins, and the Albanians kept silent, the Slovenes persisted in their well-known stands, the Croats and the Bosnians-Hercegovians were extremely aggressive, while the Serbs more or less unsuccessfully defended themselves."

According to Pristina RILINDJA, after the plenum "one thing is clear: our endeavor and hopes should now be directed to the document on the LCY's activities concerning the development of interethnic relations." The paper is of the opinion that "these are more wishes than a real view that stems from the discussion." According to the paper, "the greatest evil is that the communists are both the participants in and the victims of nationalism and divisions."

One positive side, the paper concludes, is that once again the public was able to see, perhaps more clearly that ever before, the "disposition of forces in the LCY, in which there are various coalitions, joint and independent unprincipled coalitions, or coalitions of some other kind."

There will always be sparks and sharp retorts as long as this LCY Central Committee has the likes of Abadzic, Skenderagic, Dragosavac, and others who are using the LCY Central Committee's rostrum to promote various theses that "contradict the LCY policy." Regarding Dragosav's speech, the paper writes that "he had used his political manners, developed over a long time, to prove the thesis about the growing Serbian nationalism." However, Dragosavac was not alone: He was accompanied by Skenderagic, Zgrebec, Suklje, Muzevic, Abadzic, Racan, and some other members of the Central Committee.

In its commentary entitled "Nationalists and 'Red' Sponsors," SLOBODNA DALMACIJA writes that one will have to wait much longer before "a spade is called spade." The author wonders "whether there is an evident communists' sponsorship in the process of deteriorating national relations." "This appears to have been the key question at the plenum. How successful the Central Committee will be in fighting nationalism will mainly depend on the answer (which exists, regardless of whether it was given or not). The outcome of this fight will be determined by the 'fact' of how many types of nationalisms are under 'red sponsorship.'"

Instead of a step forward, with this plenum the LCY Central Committee has made a step backward. This is the key assessment of another commentary in OSLOBODJENJE (entitled "Retorts" by Rajko Zivkovic). The plenum was characterized by numerous retorts. Regarding Ante Markovic's speech and the polemics about it, the author writes: "He gave a real lecture on how one should not speak in an arbitrary, immoderate, and badly argued way. Markovic provided arguments for everything he said and stressed that polemics can only be entered with arguments. This is an interesting part of his

speech. After that nobody got up to polemicize." The paper also raises an "important question": How will the Central Committee prepare the next congress?

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Perhaps the greatest result of the plenum lies in the fact that those who wanted to make people quarrel had in fact been defeated at the plenum. This was stated in a Belgrade Television commentary (by Slavko Budihna, broadcast last night in the Second News Program). At the plenum some people tried, on the basis of some individual excesses, and by ignoring the essence of the matter, to portray with clearly recognizable allusions the democratic processes in Serbia as an alleged danger for Yugoslavia. However, a very well-argued explanation about what is really happening in Serbia was also presented, and therefore those who want to be objective may even find these explanations "superfluous."

In a commentary entitled "Quarrels Stemming From Inability," Nis NARODNE NOVINE concludes that the LCY Central Committee plenum has demonstrated that it is deeply divided and that it is not strong enough to "overcome its own national divisions in the way which would offer optimism." At present, one cannot hold discussions in the manner in which a series of unjustifiable accusations is directed "toward mainly one republic, one nation—the Serbian nation."

The last plenum did not give clear assessments of the causes of the divisions in Yugoslavia. "Let us be optimists and say that this session was a time-out prior to the final which will be held in the form of the 14th LCY congress. That session will hopefully be much different." This was the conclusion of Slavko Gajevic's commentary "Diverging Accusations and Arguments" in POLITIKA EKSPRES. The commentator concludes that both the introductory speech and a "number of subsequent speeches" ignored the key causes of the rise in nationalism. "The attempts to prevent the introduction of amendments to the 1974 Constitution and retain the republican isolation of free individuals within one nation, i.e. the republics, have only confirmed through the disintegration of the country, the thesis about this Constitution and the rise in nationalism." The lack of any mention of "everything that has been happening in Kosovo as one of the main causes for the rise in nationalism" was clearly evident. Instead, the plenum was conducted in the way it was announced in some newspapers which "predetermined the 25th session as a showdown with Serbian nationalism." "Instead of providing an analysis of the causes of the long-lasting and unobstructed harassment by the numerically largest nation in Kosovo, the causes of events in Vojvodina and Montenegro, and attacks on Serbian tourists in Dalmatia, the scenario of the showdown with Serbian nationalists turned into the sorry attacks by several ardent speakers who were primarily lacking supporting arguments, but not harsh words."

Cynicism

Almost all speakers appeared with the flags of brotherhood and unity hoisted high, as well as with a very subtle talent for branding events in "other" communities while showing at the same time too much sensitivity about the slightest mention of similar problems in "their own" communities. This was the conclusion of the commentary "The Danger of History Being Repeated" published in Titograd POBJEDA. The way was led by the representatives of the republican and provincial leaderships and their assistants, among whom there were some long serving political leaders who are still somehow refusing to take "deserved" retirement.

According to the paper, the way out lies in a transformation of social relations in which the basis of equality among the peoples and nationalities would be the freedom of individuals and the equality of citizens, rather than the enormous worry over "national elements." "For this we also need somebody to lead us, but the one-time glorious revolutionary vanguard seems to be very lacking in this area, and if it does not realize this as soon as possible, it will be in the danger of having to leave the political scene in a not so glorious way," POBJEDA concludes.

What happened at the plenum only reinforces the belief of the Yugoslav citizens and ordinary communists that "the greatest contribution of the disunited Central Committee to the development of interethnic relations was in the firm decision not to discuss interethnic relations in the future, because this represents sheer cynicism," writes Jug Grizelj in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA (commentary entitled "Pathetic Times"). Whenever "they discuss interethnic relations, the public becomes increasingly aware of and disturbed that this body will successfully display its greatest efficiency and skill in pouring oil on the fire of further divisions between the republican leaders, as well as the citizens...." Considering the outcome of the plenum, one wonders whether the self-confident speakers "really believe that they are expressing with their speeches the views of the 23 million Yugoslavs, or whether they are only deceiving themselves that they still represent the vanguard of the Yugoslav workers class—something that has been disputed by the 13th Congress and especially by the first conference."